

A

HISTORY OF LONDON.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

CHAPTER XV.

MIDDLESEX.

The Middle Saxons—The Hundreds—The population—The suburbs of London—Ecclesiastical estates—The boundaries of the county—South Mimms and the Frowyks—Gunnarsbury—Stanwell—Old families—Old houses—Hampton Court—Syon—Osterley—Canons—Little Stanmore church—Chiswick—Historical memories in Middlesex " " " " " Page I

CHAPTER XVI.

WESTMINSTER.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HAMLETS OF WESTMINSTER.

The Decree of 1222—Ludgate—Farringdon Without—St. Clement Danes—Lincoln's Inn—Smaller inns—Fickett's Field—The New Law Courts—The Savoy—St. Mary-le-Strand—Somerset House—The riverside palaces—Covent Garden—St. Martin's-in-the Fields—Charing and the Cross—The National Gallery—St. James's, Piccadilly—St. Anne's, Soho—St. George's, Hanover Square—The Westminster estate Page 68

CHAPTER XVIII.

PARKS AND PALACES.

Whitehall—The king's manor—The banqueting hall—Scotland Yard—Execution of Charles I.—St. James's palace and park—Buckingham Palace—Green Park—Hyde Park—Cumberland Gate—Tyburn—The Serpentine—The manor of Neyte—Kensington Palace—Kensington Gardens—The Albert Memorial

Page 108

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TOWER AND TOWER HAMLETS.

The Towers of Cæsar—The parish of Stepney—The boundary of the Tower Precinct—The Tower in the Thirteenth Century—Queen Elizabeth at Traitors' Gate—Restoration of the Tower—The chapel of St. Peter—The records—The lions—The manor of Stepney—Its disintegration—Whitechapel—Shadwell—St. Dunstan's—St. Philip's—St. George's-in-the-East—Limehouse—Stepney, a centre of fashion—Bethnal Green—Parliament at Stepney—Colet—The Daniel and Tyssen estates—Hackney—The sixth earl of Northumberland—Lord's hold and king's land—Susannah Perwich

Page 136

CHAPTER XX.

THE NORTHERN SUBURBS.

Crown property—The prebendal manors of St. Paul's—The Charterhouse—The two priories of Clerkenwell—St. John's Gate—Hicks' Hall—The manor of Islington—Highbury—Lord Compton at Canonbury—Stoke Newington—Portpool and Gray's Inn—Ely Place—Sir Christopher Hatton—Bishop Wren—Lady Elizabeth Hatton—St. Etheldred's chapel—Manor of Holborn—St. George the Martyr—The *Red Lion* and the *Blue Boar*—Great Ormond Street and Lord Macaulay .. .

Page 165

CHAPTER XXI.

THE WESTERN SUBURBS.

Rugmere—The Roman road—St. Giles's pond—Bloomsbury—St. Giles's—Lincoln's-Inn-Fields—Lady Rachel Russell—The British

Museum—St. George's church—St. Pancras—The old church and the new church—Tottenham—Fitzroy Square—Tyburn—St. Marylebone—Stratford Place—The Conduit Mead—The Manor of Tyburn—Hobson—The duke of Newcastle—The Harleian library—The manor of Lylleston—The Portman estate—The Harrow estate—The church of St. Marylebone—All Souls, Langham Place—Chapels—St. Mary, Bryanston Square—Tyburn tree—Paddington—Westbourne—Kensal Green—Queen Anne's son—The gravel pits—Kensington—Holland House—Campden House—Brompton—Cromwell—Chelsea—Sir Thomas More—The old church—Chelsea hospital

CHAPTER XXII.

THE SOUTHERN SUBURBS.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE "METROPOLITAN AREA."

Growth of suburbs—Board of Works—Use of the name “metropolis”—The definition of the area—The population and their food—The governing system—A common error—Conclusion.

APPENDICES.

A. List of Mayors and Sheriffs	Page 301
B. Members of Parliament for the City	339
C. Parishes in London	359
D. Wren's Churches and Public Buildings	361
E. Prebendal Manors of St. Paul's	363
F. Note on Wards and Parishes	367
G. Members for Westminster	371
H. Members for Southwark	39
I. Members for Middlesex	391

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOLUME II.

	PAGE
24. THE TOWER IN 1553	<i>Frontispiece</i>
25. THE HUNDREDS OF MIDDLESEX ABOUT 1756	I
26. WESTMINSTER IN 1658	34
27. THE BENEDICTINE ABBEY OF WESTMINSTER	41
28. WESTMINSTER HALL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	54
29. YORK GATE	87
30. THE CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER	106
31. THE MANOR OF STEPNEY	149
32. THE NORTHERN SUBURBS	165
33. THE WESTERN SUBURBS	201
34. THE MARYLEBONE ESTATE IN 1708	223
35. THE SOUTHERN SUBURBS	267
36. LONDON AND THE SUBURBS, SHOWING THE AREA BUILT UPON AT DIFFERENT DATES	292
37. PARISH OF ST. PETER CHEAP	Appendix F.
38. CHEAP AFTER THE CONQUEST	99

HISTORY OF LONDON.

CHAPTER XV.

MIDDLESEX.

WE know very little about the origin and first settlement of the Middle Saxons, though their name in itself tells us something. It shows us that the tribe which occupied the land between the river Brent and the walls of London was distinct from that which settled itself beyond the Lea. What its original name was we know not. Its situation, after the arrival of the tribe, between Essex and Wessex, the East Saxons and the West Saxons, caused it to assume the new appellation of the Middle Saxons. Beyond this meagre fact, for the Middle Saxons are not named in the Chronicle of the Conquest, we only know that they were very few in number, a mere handful, in a backward state as regards civilisation, chiefly settled along the line of the old Roman roads, and the banks of the Thames, their villages half hidden by the great forest which spread over all the hills from Hampstead to St. Albans. In name, at least, we have still the North Haw and the South Haw: we have still the Highgate and the Southgate, and the Hatch by the Coln: we recognise the oak in Acton and the ash in Ashford, and the thorn in Elthorn. Hounslow and Willesden are in the woods,

but there are cleared farms at Harmond's Worth and Isleworth and Hanworth, and open fields at Enfield and Hadley and Finchley. Of the people we learn very little from the local names. The Saxon marks are very sparingly represented. When the "ing" does occur it is generally followed by "ton" or "don," town or down, as in Islington and Arlington, in Hillingdon and Newington, in Kensington and Teddington. Fields and fords and homes and greens are numerous, but Ealing, Yeading, and Charing are alone among the Middle Saxon family names. The population must have been extremely small, even down to the time of the Norman Conquest. If we may judge by the size of the parishes, it is clear that inhabitants were few and far between.

The county was divided, at the time of the Domesday Survey, into six hundreds. Of these the smallest were along the river, namely, Iselworth and Spelthorn. But Ossulston, which extended round the west, north, and east sides of London, was of great size, as were Edmonton, Elthorn, and Gore. We may therefore safely conclude that the population was greater by the river bank, and less to the north and north-west of the city, where the holdings were altogether inland. In modern lists of the hundreds of Middlesex Ossulston has no place. Kensington was an ancient division, formed when the suburbs became populous, with the three other districts of Holborn, Finsbury, and the Tower. The last-named, now the Tower Hamlets, comprised simply the great parish of Stepney, whose very size shows us how few were the inhabitants when parochial boundaries were fixed. The whole number of the tenants-in-chief in Middlesex in 1087 was only twenty-four, and the greater part of the county, in which the king had not a single

manor,* was in the hands of the church, the bishop and canons of St. Paul's, the abbeys of Westminster and Barking, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, being the chief landowners.

If we go further and compare the condition of places near the river with places more inland, we find that in Enfield and Isleworth there were exactly the same number of people, namely, 114; but Enfield is five times the size of Isleworth. Where the manors and parishes, for the manors and parishes are nearly always conterminous, are very large, we are justified in assuming that the local population was small. Such places as Harrow, Hanwell, Hendon, and Kingsbury, with a vast area, had little churches and little churchyards, but fed flocks of pigs of enormous size under the beeches and oaks of the adjoining woods. Harrow and Enfield are recorded to have had pannage each for 2000 hogs, 500 were fed at Harmondsworth, and 400 at Hayes. When Fitzstephen writes, in the reign of Henry II., of the "immense forest" and the "densely-wooded thickets" of Middlesex, he uses no exaggeration: and it is told us of Leofric, abbot of St. Albans towards the close of the tenth century, that he caused the trees to be cut away for a distance of thirty feet on each side of the road from London that they should not conceal robbers.

The suppression of the monasteries, which had so great an effect in the city, made little difference to the scattered inhabitants of the country. The priory of Clerkenwell had great estates, but the knights probably had little contact with their farmers at Harefield or Cranford, except to receive their rents. The abbot of the Holy Trinity at Rouen built himself such a barn at Harmondsworth as would enable him to store his tithes for several

* See vol. i. chapter iv.

years at a time.* The archbishop seldom visited Harrow, and his mansion at Headstone was often or generally let.† The villagers of Feltham were little benefited by their land being held from the hospital of St. Giles.‡ There is not an old castle within the boundaries of the county, if we except a part of the Tower of London. There is not a single manor house of the thirteenth, fourteenth, or even the fifteenth century. The clerical and monastic landlords were mainly absentees, and the change of the dissolution was chiefly felt in an immediate extension of the suburbs near the city, and the transformation of the distant and unvisited farms of canons and abbots into the villas of wealthy aldermen. The king, too, acquired in Hampton Court a palace beyond the bounds of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and a few great noblemen came by degrees to form parks and build mansions, like Syon House, or Chiswick, or Canons. The nobility of Middlesex was, however, at first confined to the neighbourhood of London. The Russells have had Covent Garden since 1552, and are therefore the oldest landowners in the county. The Cecils come next, with their estates in the Strand, and after them the Howards, who inherited Arundel House and the surrounding land adjoining the Outer Temple from the Arundels in 1603. But these examples are taken from families who remain in the male line. The Newdegates trace a female descent from Roger de Bacheworth in 1284, whose estate at Harefield is still in their possession. Bordeston, or Boston House has

* It is described and figured by Mr. Hartshorne in the 'Transactions' of the London and Middlesex Society, iv. 417. It is 192 feet in length by 36 feet 9 inches in width, and 39 feet in height.

† There is another immense barn at Headstone, 147 feet 8 inches long by 38 feet 8 inches wide. 'Transactions,' iii. 188.

‡ See below, chapter xxi.

belonged to the Clitherows for two centuries, and they are therefore, outside the suburbs, the oldest of Middlesex families.*

The greatest overflow of the city population took place into the hundred of Ossulston. This hundred, the origin of whose name, Oswulf's Town, has long been forgotten, was very early divided into Kensington, Finsbury, Wen-lakesbarn or Holborn, and the Tower Hamlets, which last comprises simply the old parish of Stepney. Most of the "hamlets," such as Wapping, now St. George's-in-the-East, Limehouse, Stratford-le-Bow, Hoxton, and Bethnal Green, have become separated parishes. Few remains of the green country have survived among them. Finsbury is not yet entirely built over. Finsbury-park is a remnant of the ancient hunting-ground of the bishop in Hornsey. Further west there is more open country, and in Willesden and Acton, Drayton and Ealing, there are still thorny hedges and shady lanes in abundance. But the division of Holborn is covered with houses, except where such artificial breathing spaces as the Regent's Park have been preserved. Many attempts were made to restrict the growth of suburbs. Three decrees at least were issued forbidding building in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and her successors, down to Oliver Cromwell, made proclamations to the same effect but without avail.

The first exodus from the city was due to the desire of the aristocracy to find sites for large houses. A survey of the successive migrations of fashion would afford us a complete history of the suburbs. The Belgravias of one age became in turn the St. Giles's of another. A hun-

* Mr. Shirley found no family in Middlesex to fit the requirements of admission to his list of 'Noble and Gentle Men of England,' all of whom held land before Bosworth. See further on in this chapter.

dred years ago Soho began to decline ; learned rather than fashionable people occupied its decaying palaces. Less than thirty years ago the nomads of good society moved out to Pimlico. Thirty years hence, what will Pimlico be like ? Yet there is nothing capricious in this constant ebb and flow. Four hundred years ago the Strand became fashionable, and it was only in our own day that Northumberland House, the last of the long row of river-side mansions, was removed. The change began with Essex House and Arundel House, and went steadily on, but Somerset House still represents an ancient nobleman's residence. The beautiful gateway at the foot of Buckingham Street, designed by Inigo Jones and executed by Nicholas Stone, still tells of the existence of York Place, where Francis Bacon was born. Within a very few years two immense districts of new houses have sprung up in Belgravia and Bayswater. Fifty years ago, or less, the Five Fields extended from Chelsea to Piccadilly, and hardly a house was to be seen from Millbank to Brompton. Portland Place and the terraces surrounding the Regent's Park, with all the streets between Portman Square and Langham Place, formed the refuge of the movable fashion. A centre which may be placed, according to Sydney Smith, in Grosvenor Square, existed then and exists still. A tract which was published anonymously in 1826 affords some curious information on the alterations then going forward, and shows us how rapidly the town, and many other things with it, have grown since that time.* The writer, for instance, remarks with wonder upon the clumsy semaphore erected in 1816 on the top of the Admiralty, upon "the illuminating power of smoke of coal," and upon the speedy conveyance between

* 'Short Remarks and Suggestions upon Improvements' (by Lord Farnborough), published by Hatchards in Piccadilly, 1826.

Dover and Calais "by means of a kettle of boiling water." But the interest of the tract lies in the opinions of the writer on questions, long since solved, of projected improvement, such as the removal of the Exchequer from Palace Yard and of the stables which abutted on Whitehall Chapel. The "ground lately occupied as the King's Mews is to be converted into a large square," and he suggests that in its centre should be placed an exact imitation of the Parthenon. Of old Buckingham House,* which has since been replaced by the overgrown lath and plaster palace of our own day, he says, "when the foreign princes visited this country in the year 1814, one of them, who had received from us very large sums of money for the prosecution of the revolutionary war, reproached us very contemptuously with the meanness of our royal palaces ; it was observed in answer that 'our magnificence was to be seen in our subsidies, not in our palaces.'"

This delightful old anecdote, of what would now be called the real "Jingo" type, undoubtedly points to a feature of London scenery impossible to be overlooked. There is no French or German town whose suburbs have the mean appearance of the outskirts of London. Not our palaces only, but all our streets have the same aspect of genteel poverty, neat ugliness, so to speak, which is caused in great part by the smallness of each particular tenement, the meanness of the materials, and a thoroughly English dislike of show unaccompanied by comfort, which, combined with the inclemency of the climate, make each family anxious, if adornment is thought of at all, to put it within, not without the house.

Great palaces rapidly disappear before rows of small villas ; and the neighbourhood of London undergoes, in

* Pine's 'Royal Residences,' vol. ii.

regular stages, three transformations. The open country is first enclosed in great parks, like those of Gunnersbury, or Stanwell, or Cranford. Next it is broken up into villas like those at Twickenham, or on the site of Belsize Park, or the sides of Highgate Hill. Lastly, it becomes streets and lanes, such as we have seen springing up in our own day at Kensington Gore, at Paddington, and in hundreds of other places.

The park and palace stage in Middlesex was preceded by the ecclesiastical. A large proportion of the Middlesex manors belonged before the dissolution to the church. St. Paul's, with its bishop, its dean, and its canons,* owned Fulham, Hornsey, Hampstead, Willesden, St. Pancras, Bloomsbury, Holborn, Islington, and the great lordship, as it was called, of Stepney. The abbot of Abingdon had Kensington; the abbot of Westminster, Paddington, Hyde Park, Knightsbridge, half of Chelsea, besides the great parish of St. Margaret's, which originally extended from near Kensington Church to Ludgate in one direction and from Kilburn to the Thames in another. Tyburn belonged to Barking Abbey and Lylleston to Clerkenwell Priory.

In outlying places the influence of the church was not so strong, even though the land belonged in general to religious houses, regular or secular. Thus the archbishop had Harrow and the abbey of St. Albans, Stanmore, but there were no great monasteries among the lonely villages of the great Middlesex forest, and it made, no doubt, little difference to the farmer at Harefield whether his rent was paid to the prior of St. John or to Master Robert Tyrwhit. The inhabitants of Feltham knew little of the hospital of St. Giles, except that it received the tithes of their corn. The Templars

* For a list of the prebends of St. Paul's see Appendix F.

and Hospitallers were probably no better or worse as landlords to Cranford than the Astons and the Berkeleys. It was not until the new lords of the land went out to live on their estates that the change was felt, and a fresh era began for the London suburbs.

In a very few cases the laity obtained property in Middlesex before the dissolution of the monasteries. The manor of Enfield, for instance, has descended from Geoffrey Mandeville to its present owner without going through the hands of any ecclesiastical proprietor. Mandeville's heiress married another Geoffrey, the son of Piers, and a prominent citizen of London.* Enfield went to him and his descendants till Maud Fitz Piers, otherwise Mandeville, married one of the many Humphrey de Bohuns who were successively earls of Hereford. This was early in the thirteenth century, and Enfield continued to belong to the Bohuns till the end of the fourteenth, when it went, with other great estates, to Henry of Bolingbroke, with his wife, Mary, the mother of Henry V. It was then annexed by act of parliament to the duchy of Lancaster, and now belongs to the queen. Lysons† observes of the Newdegates of Harefield that their estate has descended by intermarriages, with the exception of a temporary alienation, in regular succession through the families of Bacheworth, Swanland, and Newdegate since the year 1284, when by the verdict of a jury it appeared that Roger de Bacheworth and his ancestors had held it from time immemorial. It is curious to remark that this old family is not mentioned in Domesday. The estate was held under a lord, and was reckoned part of the honour of Clare, and so came, like Enfield, to the duchy of Lancaster, and it was only in 1790 that Sir Roger Newdegate obtained a release,

* See above, vol. i. p. 129.

† 'Middlesex Parishes,' p. 107.

under the great seal of the duchy, from the payment of an annual quit rent of 22*s.**

Geoffrey Mandeville had other estates in Middlesex, and his manor of Edmonton was held to include that of "Mimes," now called South Mimms, the further history of which is a very typical example of the descent of a manor in lay hands. When we look at a map of Middlesex we observe that the boundary lines of the county on three sides were fixed mainly by the course of three rivers, the Coln, the Thames, and the Lea. But the fourth, or northern boundary, is more irregular. The line leaves the Coln at Harefield, and zigzags first in an easterly direction, then north-west, and then turning east again, reaches the valley of the Lea just below Waltham Abbey. This double bend almost surrounds the Hertfordshire parishes of Totteridge and two of the three Barnets, but leaves South Mimms within the limits of Middlesex. The irregularity is very interesting. It points to a time when no exact boundary had been drawn through the forest, and it shows how great was the influence of the church in shaping the modern county. It seems probable that Hertfordshire was also inhabited by the small Middle Saxon tribe; but it is impossible now to fix with certainty the date at which the boundary was made. Two things only we know. It must have been after the foundation of St. Albans Abbey, and therefore after the time of the great Offa of Mercia. And it was also after the foundation of Ely. This is plain, because the zigzag line is so drawn as to exclude High Barnet and East Barnet, which belonged to St. Albans, and Totteridge, which was an outlying part of the manor of

* *Hoc manerium tenuit Goda comitissa T.R.E. 'Domesday Book.'* Lysons goes on to say that this is the only instance of such remote possession in the county of Middlesex. In so speaking he may have overlooked Enfield.

Hatfield, which king Edgar* is said to have given to Ely Abbey. This would bring the date to some time in the tenth century, but would not exclude the possibility of a much earlier date, as Hatfield may have belonged to some Hertfordshire owner before it went to Ely. But South Mimms † belonged to the owner of Edmonton, and in the reign of Edward the Confessor this was no other than that Esgar or Ansgar, the Staller, of whom mention has been already made.‡ William gave the whole manor to Geoffrey, and in after years his descendants made grants in South Mimms to the abbey he had founded at Saffron Walden. From one of the documents relating to these grants, which included the advowson of the church, we find an indication pointing to the time when the two Mimms had not been divided by the boundary of two counties, for part of the endowment of North Mimms, as late as the end of the thirteenth century, lay in the southern division. So far the most northern district of Middlesex was but half cultivated, but half reclaimed from the ancient forest, though the great highway ran from London to St. Albans through it.§ Most of the local names refer to the woods

* The earliest mention of Hatfield in the ‘*Codex Diplomaticus*’ is in a charter of queen Ælfgifu, 1012.

† The meaning of the name escapes me. It may be personal. If so who was Mim? North Mimms is called in Domesday “Mimmene.” The surnames Minshew and Minshull—Mins-wood or hough—are not uncommon.

‡ i. 74.

§ “The ancient high waie to high Bernet,” says Norden, as quoted by Mr. Cass in his paper on South Mimms, published by the London and Middlesex Society, “from Porte-pool, now Grayes Inne, as also from Clerkenwell, was through a lane on the east of Pancras Church, called Longwich Lane, from thence, leaving Highgate on the west, it passed through Tallingdon Lane, and so to Crouch Ende, and thence through a Parke called Harnsey Great Parke to Muswill Hill, to Coanie Hatch, Fryarne Barnet, and so to Whetstone, which is now the common highway to High Bernet.” This was, of course, before a road was made over Highgate Hill.

and their gates, the oaks and the beeches, the open commons and chases and hunts. But as public security increased, the richer folk in the city found it pleasant to come out here now and then. Fine houses, more or less fortified, were built, and the wealthy merchant began to forget his merchandise, to marry into the noble and knightly families about him, and, gradually giving up all connection with the city, to become a wealthy country squire, perhaps a nobleman, himself.

I have had, in my account of the city, frequent cause to speak of the Frowyks, or Frowykes, or Frowicks, who were so wealthy and powerful in the thirteenth century. One of them was warden during the memorable contest about Walter Hervey's election to the mayoralty at the time of the death of Henry III.* Another was reckoned among the founders of the Guildhall Chapel. The ward of Cheap was at one time called after Henry le Frowyk. Half a century later the Frowyks are seated as squires at Old Fold, within the parish of South Mimms.† They were not extinct in the male line in 1505, when one of them, Sir Thomas, left his estate in South Mimms to his daughter, Frideswide, who married Sir Thomas Cheyney, K.G. He was chief justice of the Common Pleas, and resided a little nearer town at Finchley. His cousin, Henry Frowyke, whose daughter and heiress married a Coningsby, was resident at Old Fold. There are descendants of the family among the highest nobility now. Old Fold stood near Hadley Green, where the moated site is still pointed out, now converted into a

* See above, vol. i. chapters v. and vi., and Aungier's 'French Chron.' ii. 13.

† See pedigree and very full account, with a view of the Frowyke Chantry in South Mimms Church, in Mr. Cass's paper already mentioned. Their arms with twelve quarterings are there engraved.

kitchen garden. The younger branches again and again returned to seek and find fortunes in the city, and at least one was distinguished as a lawyer. It was from his monument, which has long disappeared from its place in Finchley Church, that Norden copied the affecting little epitaph—

“*Joan la feme de Thomas Frowicke gets icy
Et le dit Thomas pense de giser avec lui.*”

Another branch of the family was seated at Gunnersbury, a place which has a history of its own. Lysons conjectures that the name is derived from that of Gunyld or Gunnilda, niece of king Canute. If so, Gunnersbury boasts of having belonged to two princesses, for Amelia, the aunt of George III., bought it in 1761, and lived here till her death. The Frowykes were not long seated at Gunnersbury, and the heiress of Sir Henry Frowyke, who died in 1505, carried it to the Spelmans, and it went through various hands before it came to baron Lionel Rothschild, its present owner, who has made the old house, originally built, it is believed, by Webb, the pupil of Inigo Jones, “one of the most sumptuous dwellings in the vicinity of London.”* But, with the exception of the park and house, all the old manor is gradually but surely being covered with houses, and before long this hamlet of Ealing will have shared the fate of the other suburbs, and become a part of London.

Among the other great houses built during this stage in the history of Middlesex, Stanwell claims more than a passing notice. The manor had belonged to the Windsors almost from the Conquest. In an evil hour for lord Windsor, Henry VIII. took a fancy to it. He had entertained the king handsomely, and the king returned his hospitality by coveting his house. In vain lord

* Thorne, ‘Environs,’ i. 160.

Windsor pleaded that it had been the seat of his ancestors for many centuries: he begged the king not to take it from him. He tremblingly hoped his highness was not in earnest. Henry sternly referred him to the attorney-general, who showed him the deed of exchange already made out, and Bordesley Abbey, in Worcestershire, was substituted for the ancient inheritance of the Windsors. The baron's Christmas fare was all laid in, his furniture prepared, his hall warmed, before he left, for he said before he left that the king should not at his coming find it "bare Stanwell."

The strangest part of the story, perhaps, is that Henry never does seem to have come to Stanwell. He probably, as Lysons suggests, only wanted to get rid of some monastic property by exchange, and had lord Windsor pointed out to him as a likely person on whom to try the experiment. There was probably a disinclination to buy lands of which the church had been despoiled, and we have all heard of the curse which for generations was supposed to attach to owners of estates which had belonged to religious fraternities. But the subsequent history of Stanwell showed that lay property was just as subject to vicissitudes under the Tudors and Stuarts. In 1603 James I. gave it to Sir Thomas Knyvet, and here the lady Mary, the king's daughter, died in 1607.* Knyvet made a curious will. He bequeathed Stanwell to his grandnephew, John Cary, and his grandniece, Elizabeth Leigh, and the family, to prevent the partition of the estate, obtained a decree from the Court of

* See some remarks on the date of her death in Chester's 'Westminster Abbey Registers'; on her tomb and in the register it is "December"; but Col. Chester shows that it should be "September." He is wrong, however, in speaking of her "lying a corpse in the palace," during some court festivities. She died in a private house, Stanwell.

Chancery, delaying it, that the cousins might marry and unite their respective moieties. But Mistress Elizabeth Leigh, when she came to an age to choose a husband, chose, not John Cary, but Humphrey Tracy, who joined in a family arrangement by which the division was again postponed, and Stanwell became the property of Cary. Undeterred by the failure of his grand uncle to prescribe the marriages of his relatives, John Cary left Stanwell to his own grandniece, Elizabeth Willoughby, on condition that within three years after his death she should marry lord Guildford. In default it was to go to lord Falkland. But Elizabeth Willoughby, like her cousin, Elizabeth Leigh, had a mind of her own in such a matter as her marriage, and refused either to marry lord Guildford or to give up Stanwell. She preferred James Bertie,* and the case went up to the House of Lords, who decreed her a life interest in Stanwell. She lived till 1716, when the estate went to lord Falkland, but he sold it within a few years, and it afterwards passed into the possession of a great West Indian family, named Gibbons, to whose representative it now belongs. In this case, therefore, we have within the space of a century and a half no fewer than six different families successively in possession of a single estate. It is a curious fact that every family owning land in the county since the suppression of the monasteries, bought it or inherited it by a female line.

The Clitherows of Boston, near Brentford, are usually accounted the oldest of Middlesex families. Boston was originally called Bordeston, and belonged to the priory of St. Helens. One of the last prioresses leased it to a near relation.† But it came at last to the crown, and

* Second son of the first earl of Abingdon, and father of Willoughby Bertie, third earl.

† See vol. i. chapter x.

was among the estates of the protector Somerset at his attainder. It next belonged to Elizabeth's favourite, Leicester, and was bought from him by the great Sir Thomas Gresham.* Although it was not until 1670 that James Clitherow bought it, yet Lysons remarked in the last century that "this family is to be mentioned as one of the very few who have been resident upon the same estate for more than a century." Thorne, quoting this sentence from Lysons, added: "another century has passed and Boston House is still the residence of a Clitherow." Two other families also, namely, the Woods of Littleton and the Taylors of Staines have held their respective estates for upwards of two centuries.†

Perhaps the oldest inhabited house in England is in Middlesex. Yet the seeker for ancient architecture will be disappointed at Fulham. Like so many other ecclesiastical residences all over the country, it is at once new and old. The law of dilapidations destroys equally in a vicarage and an episcopal manor house the remains and appearance of antiquity. There is a gate in the garden which bears the arms of bishop Fitz James, who was appointed to the see by Henry VII. Very nearly as ancient is Hampton Court. The manor belonged at the suppression to the knights of St. John, but had been for some years in the hands of cardinal Wolsey, who had obtained a lease from the lord prior in 1515. This

* Lysons, i. 29. It went to Gresham's stepson, Reade; thence to lady Reade's second husband, Spencer; he left a widow who bought up the reversions of the Reade heirs, and left Boston to her cousin Gouldsmith, whose trustees sold it on his death. Here, therefore, are seven families before 1670: Seymour, Dudley, Gresham, Reade, Spencer, Gouldsmith and Clitherow, besides the crown.

† Richard Taylor bought Staines from Sir William Drake in 1678. Thomas Wood was owner of the advowson of Littleton in 1673; but neither Lysons nor Thorne succeeded in tracing the family further back. The Woods bought the manor only a hundred years ago.

lease, which was for ninety-nine years at 50*l.* a year, and a payment of 21*l.* to a chaplain, was all he had as security when he commenced the sumptuous pile of which a considerable part is still standing.*

Wolsey became a cardinal in the year he acquired Hampton Court, and he speedily made the house worthy of his exalted dignity. Stow mentions it as exciting "much envy"—envy shared by a personage who was not to be balked of anything he desired. Wolsey was accustomed to watch the movements of Henry's mind. He was equal to the occasion, and when the king asked him why he had built so costly a house, unlike lord Windsor at Stanwell, he promptly replied, "To show how noble a palace a subject may offer to his sovereign." It is possible that as he had by this time enjoyed it for eleven years he was tired of it. He certainly knew the king too well to be able to fancy he would refuse the gift. Henry showed no mock modesty or hesitation in accepting it; he assigned to the cardinal instead a right to use the not very distant Richmond when he pleased. Henry was at Hampton when he heard of the fate of his discarded minister, and here queen Anne Boleyn presided "at superb banquetings, with masques, interludes, and sports." Here Surrey fell in love with the fair Geraldine:—

"Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine."

Henry employed much of his time in field sports in the neighbouring parks; and as he grew old he augmented the estate by one of the most monstrous appropriations attempted by any English sovereign since the days of William the Norman. An Act was passed in 1538

* The accounts of Hampton Court in Lysons and Thorne are very full. There is also a prettily illustrated little volume devoted to it by Jesse.

creating an “Honour of Hampton,” to include in one royal hunting-ground not merely the adjacent Middlesex manors but also nine manors on the Surrey side of the Thames. The whole territory, of which Nonsuch was the southern lodge, was surrounded by a wooden paling and stocked with deer, churches and houses were pulled down, villages depopulated, farms given up to wood, meadows and pastures covered with game. An order passed the Privy Council in the next reign by which an apology was tendered to outraged public opinion, and the Honour “dechased.” “His Highness,” it was said, “waxed heavy with sickness, age, and corpulence of body, and might not travel so readily abroad, but was constrained to seek to have his game and pleasure ready and at hand.” It is curious to remark that, in spite of anything done under Edward VI. to mitigate the severity of the Act, it has never been formally repealed, and the Honour of Hampton is still a Royal Chase, controlled by a steward, the lieutenant and keeper of Hampton Court.

The palace continued for two centuries a favourite residence of our sovereigns. It was the birth-place of Edward VI., and here Jane Seymour, his mother, died. Here three Katharines* and two Annes followed each other as Henry’s wives. Here the council was held in Elizabeth’s reign which adjudged death to Mary Stuart; and here, under her son, the abortive conference of presbyterians and bishops took place. Charles I. passed some time at Hampton under the restraints imposed by the rebellious parliament, and made the attempt to escape which eventually led to his stricter imprisonment at Carisbrooke. On a dark tempestuous evening in

* Katharine Howard “haunts” the passage to the chapel. Law, ‘Pictures at Hampton Court,’ p. 266.

November, 1647, pretending to be indisposed, he retired early to his chamber, and passing through some vaulted passages reached the gardens, accompanied by three courtiers all in disguise. A private door admitted them to the Thames bank, and a boat which was in readiness conveyed them to the Surrey side. The ill-fated princess Elizabeth was at Hampton Court at the time, and it was in consequence of her complaining that the sentries disturbed her rest that they were removed to a greater distance, and thus greater facility afforded for the king's flight.* A little later Cromwell lived much at Hampton Court, and was there stricken with his mortal fever. A fortnight before his death at Whitehall his favourite daughter, "Lady Elizabeth Claypole," as she is called in contemporary memoirs, was seized at Hampton Court "of a disease in her inwards, and being taken frantic raved much against the bloody cruelties of her father."† She died on the 6th August, 1658, and her body was removed with great pomp to Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, where it still lies. Charles II. resided occasionally at Hampton, where he remodelled the gardens, and sauntered in the "parterre which they call Paradise, in which is a pretty banqueting house set over a cave or cellar."‡

William III. employed Wren to replace two of Wolsey's courts by a new building, which, although wholly incongruous, is a fine example of his palatial style. The staircases were especially grand. The gardens, newly laid out in a Dutch style, with vistas across the river, are still much as William left them, with a terrace half a mile in length and canal-like ponds. Queen Anne resided

* Jesse's 'Court of England,' ii. 49.

† Heath, quoted by Jesse, ii. 377.

‡ Evelyn's 'Diary,' 9th June, 1662.

long at Hampton ; and here, in her reign, Pope laid the scene of his ‘Rape of the Lock.’ For many years past it has boasted of no royal inhabitant. George III. is said to have disliked it.* Queen Victoria has made it a scene of happiness to many of her subjects, for not only are the state rooms with their noble pictures and the gardens open to the public, but the more private apartments are appropriated to the use of those whom the nation looks on as most deserving of a public recognition. Thus it came to pass that in his old age Michael Faraday was able, in the intervals of toil, to exchange the turmoil of a London street for these pleasant shades, and here, in 1867, he breathed his last.

When Charles I. came to Hampton his children were not far off at Syon, in the charge of the earl of Northumberland. Syon had been an abbey of the order of St. Bridget,† founded by Henry V., who separated the manor of Isleworth, within which the new house was situated, from the estates of the duchy of Cornwall, and conferred it upon the abbess. The name was a reference to the holy mount, and the number of inmates answered to the thirteen apostles, including St. Paul, and the seventy-two disciples. There were thirteen priests attached, and in the original statutes of St. Bridget all were to live together, but at Syon the sexes were cautiously and carefully separated, “for the avoiding of scandal.” The abbess was ruler over both, and no sister was admitted under the age of eighteen, no brother under twenty-five. The manor of Isleworth included the whole hundred of that name, and the foundation, as time went on, became exceedingly wealthy. In the reign of Henry VIII. fifty-six nuns were in the house,

* See Law’s ‘Pictures at Hampton Court,’ p. 102.

† Aungier’s ‘History of Syon and Isleworth.’

and as some of them were said to have been implicated with the supporters of the Maid of Kent,* this was one of the first religious houses suppressed. Charges of immodest behaviour were freely made against the priests and nuns by the visitors under Thomas Cromwell, and in 1539 the abbey was surrendered into the king's hands, when the clear income was found to be no less than 1731*l.* 8*s.* 4*3d.* Pensions were granted to fifty-six sisters and to eighteen brethren. The nuns, however, so far proved the sincerity of their profession that they continued to live together elsewhere until queen Mary reinstated them at Syon, which had been kept in the possession of the crown. At their final suppression in the following reign they migrated in a body to Portugal, carrying with them the abbey keys, as the Arabs of Spain are said to have taken with them to Morocco the keys of their ancient dwellings on the slopes of the Sierras. When, centuries later, a duke of Northumberland was at Lisbon he visited the Bridgettine convent, and the abbess told him that they still retained the keys brought from Syon by their predecessors. "I dare say," replied the duke; "but we have altered the locks since then." During the French invasion of Portugal the nuns sought a refuge in England, and lived some time at Peckham. When the war was over the Lisbon house was revived, and in 1861 the community returned a second time to England, and took up their abode in Dorsetshire.

Meanwhile Syon underwent various vicissitudes. It was, with the neighbouring Osterley, a part of the estate of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset. On his attainder both reverted to the Crown, and Syon was granted to the duke's rival, Northumberland. Here

* See vol. i. chapter x.

the ill-fated lady Jane Dudley received the offer of the throne. At the duke's attainder, for the second or third time Syon went to the Crown; it so remained during the reign of Elizabeth. James I. gave it to Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, in 1604, and when, in 1682, the heiress of the Percies married the "proud duke of Somerset," it became a second time the property of a Seymour. Within sixty years, however, it went to a third family, that of Smithson, whose representative, the duke of Northumberland, is its present owner. Though the modern house is mainly that built by the protector Somerset, it has been so often altered and remodelled that nothing is visible of the older building. A century ago, both Syon and Osterley underwent the finishing touches of the accomplished Robert Adam, on whose work Horace Walpole dilates with rapture. In our own day the famous lion from Northumberland House at Charing Cross migrated thither, and now looks down on the terraced lawns, with their vistas towards Kew Gardens, which appear almost as if they formed part of the domain. The interior of the house is famous for its magnificence and for the costly collections it contains. Columns of *verde antique*, found in the Tiber, and purchased at an enormous price, mosaic tables, a vase of Irish crystal mounted in gold, portraits by Holbein and Reynolds, pictures by Snyders and Landseer, prints, drawings, and books, make it worthy of its owner's rank and wealth.

Few such houses as Syon now remain in Middlesex, but Osterley in some respects runs it close. Both were remodelled by Adam. The older Osterley was the scene of a well-known story. It belonged in the time of Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Gresham. "Her majesty," says Fuller—himself at a later period rector of Cranford,

not far off—"Her majesty found fault with the court of this house as too great, affirming that it would appear more handsome if divided with a wall in the middle. What doth Sir Thomas, but in the night time sends for workmen to London (money commands all things), who so speedily and silently apply their business that the next morning discovered that court double which the night had left single before." Fuller adds the opinion of some, with special reference to disputes in the Gresham family, that any house is easier divided than united, and certainly Sir Thomas's was no exception. Osterley went, like Bordeston, of which I have already spoken, to lady Gresham's son by her first marriage, afterwards to Sir Edward Coke, then to a descendant of lady Gresham, the wife of George earl of Desmond, and finally, after several intermediate owners, to Francis Child, the banker.* With the rest of his wealth it ultimately descended to the Jersey family.

Another great Middlesex house has long disappeared. The glory of Canons was of brief duration, † but a blacksmith's shop, hard by at Edgware, is associated still with the name of George Frederick Handel, who was organist to the duke of Chandos. He had been previously in the service of the earl of Burlington, and may have performed in the beautiful villa at Chiswick, which I have still to describe. At Whitchurch there are tangible memorials of the great musician. Tradition and something more has commemorated William Powell, the harmonious blacksmith. He was parish clerk of Whitchurch, and died in 1780. The humble rail which marked his grave has lately given place to a substantial monument, which bears among the inscriptions a bar of Handel's

* See vol. i. chapter xiii.

† Thorne, i. 72.

immortal air.* Authentic history, and what is often more valuable, contemporary satire, are frequently concerned with Handel and Canons and the village church in which his organ may still be heard. Pope sneered at the duke and the musician alike, and prophesied but too exactly the rapid approach of a time when “deep harvests” should “bury all his pride had planned, and laughing Ceres reassume the land.” Three years after Pope’s death his forebodings were fulfilled. The duke was ruined by the South Sea Bubble,† and the house was sold for the materials in 1747. The grand staircase went to Chesterfield House in Mayfair, where it still remains. A statue of king George‡ went to Leicester Square, and disappeared piecemeal in our own day. A new, but smaller and more economical house, was afterwards inhabited by colonel O’Kelly, who owned, besides a famous parrot, a racehorse which from its birth during an eclipse, made the word celebrated as the name of the swiftest horse that ever ran. Eclipse lies buried in the park of Canons. His master is buried in the church of Little Stanmore, or Whitchurch, in which there is still much to remind the visitor of Handel and his magnificent patron the duke.

Without, the church is severely classical. It belies its name by being of red brick. Within, it is not only stately and convenient, but of an unusual design, a design, indeed, which an unprejudiced critic might be tempted to consider more suited to the requirements of modern worship than any adaptation of mediæval gothic. It consists of a nave without aisles, and a small

* It is said to have been traced to an old German melody, but Handel made it his own.

† Vol. i. chapter xiii.

‡ There is some uncertainty which “king George” was represented.

chancel raised on three steps with richly carved oak columns to mark the separation. At the other end is a gallery, and behind the altar is the organ, Handel's organ. The most curious feature of Little Stanmore church is the decoration. As Pope scornfully and not quite accurately observes,—

“On painted ceilings you devoutly stare,
Where sprawl the saints of Verrio and Laguerre,
Or gilded clouds in fair expansion lie,
And bring all Paradise before your eye.”

Verrio had been dead for some years, but Bellucci's name would not fit into the line. There are figures of the evangelists and the apostles, of the cardinal virtues, and the law and gospel. The roof is blue, powdered with gold stars. On the north side is the chapel of the Chandos family, where the unfortunate duke, in Roman armour and a flowing wig, is supported by two of his wives—for he had three—on a magnificent tomb, recently repaired by the duke of Buckingham and Chandos, the heir of what was left of the family wealth.

The villa of another duke in Middlesex has a longer history than Canons. I have had occasion more than once to mention the “architect earl” of Burlington.* The masterpiece of his art was a villa at Chiswick, which now belongs to his descendant, the duke of Devonshire.

Chiswick is not mentioned in Domesday, but it is probable that a manor in Fulham, said to belong to the canons of St. Paul's, may be identified with it. It was early divided, and the duke of Devonshire has the lease of that part which used to be called Sutton. The other still nominally belongs to St. Paul's, but in 1570 it hap-

* Vol. i. chapter xii., and vol. ii. chapter xxi.

pened that the stall of Chiswick was filled by Gabriel Goodman, who was dean of Westminster, and he leased it to the chapter of the abbey, who still, I believe, hold it, though the prebendary receives, or should receive, a small rent.*

Chiswick House was for some time the residence of Carr earl of Somerset, the disgraced favourite of James I. He mortgaged it heavily to provide a dowry for his daughter, who married the earl of Bedford, and so became mother of William, lord Russell, beheaded in 1683. The house became the property of the mortgagee, and after various changes it was bought by Richard Boyle, earl of Burlington and Cork. His great grandson was the architect, and lies buried in Chiswick Church beside his friend and assistant, Kent. He pulled down the old house and built the new one, which, with the addition of wings, still stands. His heiress married the fourth duke of Devonshire. Lord Burlington was brought up in a beautiful old house on Campden Hill,† which may have stimulated his very remarkable architectural ability. He alone of modern classical builders seems to me to be worthy of comparison with Wren.‡ His dormitory at Westminster School is perhaps the only one of his works which has survived intact.§ Burlington House, in Piccadilly, has been defaced, and Chiswick has been added to, but enough remains to show how beautiful it must have been. The design was

* In 1845, it was reported worth annually £39 2*s.* 6*d.* See Falkner, 'Brentford, Ealing and Chiswick,' a book on which too much dependence must not be placed.

† See below, chapter xxi.

‡ See above, vol. i. chapter xii.

§ One fears to call attention to the existence of anything worth admiring or preserving in the scholastic precincts. The design is believed to have been founded on a drawing by Inigo Jones.

imitated with some directness from one by Palladio. The wits of the time made merry over it. Various jests have been reported, and misreported, to the effect that, while it was too small to live in, it was too large to be hung on a watch chain.*

By a curious coincidence, two very eminent statesmen died in the villa, though they were not owners or even tenants. Charles James Fox † went to stay there for change of air in 1806, and died in a fortnight. Twenty-one years later George Canning came there with his wife for the same reason, and after three weeks also died. Fox's bed-chamber was on the ground floor, "a small but cheerful room," the walls covered with tapestry, and a portrait of Pope over the door. The bed had chintz curtains, with "a large and flowery pattern of green and red, upon a light ground." The wooden cornice was painted a light brown and green, and the fringe, tassels, and lining were also green. During the garden-parties for which in the last generation Chiswick was so famous, and at one of which Sir Walter Scott and an elephant assisted, this chamber was used as a refreshment-room. The room in which Canning died is upstairs. Lord Dalling gave an account of it many years ago in a magazine, in which he characterised it as "cheerless." When his essays ‡ were reprinted he altered the word to "simple." Near it was another into which Mrs. Canning was carried after all was over. Her life was at

* This epigram, which may be found in Walpole's 'Anecdotes of Painting,' is attributed, with others, to lord Hervey. By Lysons it is assigned to lady Hervey.

† These notes are quoted by Faulkner from lady Chatterton's 'Home Sketches and Foreign Recollections,' published in 1841. In lord Stanhope's 'Miscellanies,' Second Series, p. 79, the question whether the two statesmen died in the same room, as commonly reported, and asserted by Thorne, i. 110, is set at rest by a letter from the late duke of Devonshire.

‡ 'Historical Characters,' ii. 402.

first despaired of, but she recovered, and, having been created a viscountess, she survived her husband nearly ten years.* Their son was the great Viceroy of India.

The grounds were beautifully laid out by Kent. As an example of successful landscape gardening they are unrivalled. Sir Joseph Paxton was "discovered" by the late duke in the adjoining grounds of the Royal Horticultural Society, and soon, with such a patron, found means to distinguish himself, but the results of his labours are chiefly to be seen at Chatsworth.† Some of the statues are from the old Arundel collection, others are skilful modern imitations of the antique. One relic of peculiar interest will be eagerly sought out by the visitor. It is the gate which Inigo Jones built at Chelsea, in the grounds which had once belonged to Sir Thomas More, and afterwards to Lionel Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, and to Henry, duke of Beaufort. The site is now marked by Lawrence Street and other small rows of houses, and is bounded on the west by Beaufort Street, formerly the Lovers' Lane. The house was pulled down by Sir Hans Sloane a few years after he bought it, in 1736; and this gate, which consists of a very simple portico with two doric columns, was given by him to the

* The duke's note is as follows :—"Chiswick, March 18, 1854. My dear Lady Newburgh, Canning died in a room upstairs. I had a great foreboding when he came here, and would not allow of his living in the room below, where Fox had died. The other room above has been very much altered, and furnished differently since. I am not surprised at Lord Mahon wanting to know ; it was a sad and curious coincidence. Ever yours, &c., Devonshire." Lady Chatterton says :—"The housekeeper showed us a room downstairs, where he read prayers to the family each Sunday."

† It is said, on the authority of local gossip, that the sums spent by Paxton at Chatsworth would have ruined the duke had not lady Paxton developed financial powers of a remarkable character.

architect earl ; who, no doubt, highly prized it.* Pope is said to have written some lines on the occasion :—

“*Passenger.*

O gate how cam’st thou here ?
Gate.
 I was brought from Chelsea last year,
 Battered with wind and weather ;
 Inigo Jones put me together,
 Sir Hans Sloane
 Let me alone,
 Burlington brought me hither.” †

The county has been represented in Parliament from the earliest time, and elections were held on Hampstead Heath‡ before 1701, when Brentford became the “county town,” and so continued till the beginning of the present reign, when polling places were opened at Bedfont, Edgware, Enfield, King’s Cross, Hammersmith, Mile End, and Uxbridge, as well. Brentford has been the scene of some lively contests, and all the constitutional questions involved in the elections of Wilkes, and afterwards of Burdett, were fought out here. §

It would be but too easy to make a volume about the outlying districts of Middlesex and their eminent inhabitants. I have said enough to show how interesting the subject might be if properly treated.|| There are many

* Lord Burlington had already assisted Kent in publishing some of Inigo Jones’s designs.

† Faulkner, p. 434.

‡ Strange to say neither Park in his ‘Perambulation of Hampstead’ nor Howitt in his ‘Northern Heights,’ gives any account of the Middlesex elections. A list of members elected at Brentford will be found in Faulkner’s ‘Ealing,’ p. 38.

§ See vol i. chapter xiv.

|| Students may be referred to Lysons, whose five volumes of ‘Environs’ are models of topographical accuracy, and to Thorne’s ‘Handbook,’ filled with pleasant gossip. Of the shrievalty of Middlesex I have given some account in vol. i. chapter iv.

temptations to prolixity. I have endeavoured to take a few typical examples only ; but there is scarcely a village in the county without its memories of some one who made himself famous in the great neighbouring city. Sometimes the same eminent person is found in different places, as Lamb at Enfield and Edmonton, Goldsmith at Dawley and at the Hyde on the Edgware Road, Pope at Chiswick and Twickenham, Dr. Johnson at Hampstead and at Topham Beauclerk's villa on Muswell Hill. I have said nothing of Strawberry Hill and Horace Walpole, partly because so much has been written already on the subject, and partly because I do not concern myself with mere records of fashion. For similar reasons I have omitted many other places. A connected history of the immediate suburbs is more to my purpose, and it must suffice here merely to recall a few of the great names which otherwise I pass over. We might stand with Keats where he composed his 'Ode to a Nightingale,' though the view from Hampstead is so changed, especially in the last few years, that little remains to be seen as he saw it. From "Byron's Tomb," as a nameless stone is called in the churchyard of Harrow, we can still look over as fair a vale as any either poet ever saw. It is interesting to visit the room in which queen Anne was born at York House, Twickenham. At Wrotham, near Barnet, we may see a house built by the ill-fated admiral Byng, who called it after the ancient seat of his ancestors in Kent. We may trace the footsteps of Monk from his last halting-place at Finchley. We may climb Highwood Hill, where William Wilberforce lived, and seek at Parson's Green the residence of Samuel Richardson. And we must beware of spurious imitations. John Gilpin's "*Bell at Edmonton*" has disappeared, and another *Bell* since. The house at Highgate in which

Bacon died was pulled down in 1825. Whittington's milestone has been moved about to different places, if indeed, any of it remains. Pope's villa was built in the present century, and is not even on the original site. But more than enough remains. There is Bedfont, where Harvey discovered the immortal fish sauce. There is Laleham, where Arnold "coached" young collegians and prepared himself for the great work of his life. At Gladmore, near Monken Hadley, the "battle of Barnet" was fought in 1471, on Easter Sunday. Lord Buckhurst, the poet, built a house at Teddington. Walter Map, the merry archdeacon of Henry II.'s court, lived at Mapesbury in Willesden. Good queen Adelaide died at Bentley Priory, in Great Stanmore, in 1849. Many of us are better acquainted with foreign countries than with our own. To some of us the environs of Cairo or Naples are more familiar than those of London. But, granted health, there is no place in the world which has the same interest for an Englishman as the county of Middlesex.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

IT is not easy to define exactly what is Westminster at the present day. There is the city, there is the parliamentary borough, there is the outlying division near Kensington—in short, Westminster has undergone many vicissitudes and changes, and has been influenced in turn by kings, by monks, by bishops, by parliaments, by courts of law, until we are compelled, if we would find the original Westminster, to commence our inquiries by going back more than a thousand years.

The name itself seems to tell us something. If we could be sure that it has always been “the West Minster,” we might argue that the western monastery is later than St. Paul’s, that St. Paul’s was in existence as the eastern minster when St. Peter’s was founded. But the first charter in which it is mentioned gives it three different names. Offa, of Mercia, in 785,* making it a grant of land, calls it, first, St. Peter’s; secondly, Thorney; thirdly, “Westminster.” We cannot, therefore, found any argument or theory on this last form. St. Peter’s speaks for itself. It is likely, on the whole, as we have seen in considering the dedications of city churches, that dedications to the apostles are older than dedications to

* This charter (Kemble, i. No. 149) is marked with a star, and is not, therefore, existing except in a copy which may not be genuine. At the same time there is nothing in it inconsistent with the fidelity of the copy, and Widmore ('Enquiry,' p. 7) accepts it.

other saints. St. Peter's is an old dedication; in fact, it is difficult to understand how the cathedral church of St. Paul can have preceded it. This difficulty, no doubt, appeared insuperable to the medieval mind, and we have the legend of the superior antiquity of St. Peter's upon Cornhill, to account for it. It is evident, therefore, that while we cannot claim for St. Peter's an antiquity greater than that of St. Paul's, we must allow that it may be very old, as old as any other foundation of the kind.

The second name is Thorney, and Thorney is spoken of as a "locus terribilis," a venerable place.* It must, therefore, have been considered sacred, perhaps by long custom, perhaps on account of association with some eminent person. A king Sebert† was invented later to account for this veneration. Widmore is very unwilling to put Sebert aside, but is obliged to conclude that the monastery was founded "about the time when Bede died, or between the years 730 and 740;" and he goes on to show that at first it was but a small place, and evidently altogether unconscious of its high destinies.

Although the name of Thorney tells us nothing about the abbey, it tells us much about its site. The word "terribilis" in Offa's charter has indeed sometimes been supposed to refer to the nature of the place, a thorny

* This interpretation has been suggested by Mr. Henry Middleton, F.S.A., and commends itself to our common sense. The reader will recall the expression of Jacob (Genesis, xxviii. 17) "How dreadful is this place! This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." *Quam terribilis est locus iste*, are the words of the Vulgate. In a poem on the life of Edward the Confessor, published in the Rolls Series, there is a similar reference to Jacob's dream. "King Edward calls this holy place the gate of heaven."—P. 198.

† There was a king called Sebert or Seberht, as already mentioned (chap. iii.), but his connection with Westminster was not thought of till after the Conquest, when the place had become important.

island.* We must remember that in the eighth century the greater part of what is now Westminster was a tidal estuary, a marsh, or mud-flat, covered twice a day with the brackish water of the Thames. In the midst of this wilderness of mud rose a slight eminence, "the Tothill," upon which the old road, the Watling Street, ran to the water's edge. Thence travellers who wanted to cross the Thames had to wade as best they could—the first stepping-stone, so to speak, across the shallow river being the Thorn-ey. Here, so far back as the time of the Romans, there stood some building, perhaps a post-house for the convenience of passengers, perhaps a villa. A portion of its pavement was recently discovered in the nave of the church. It is not unlikely that a causeway of some kind at a very early period connected Thorney and Tothill. When, by degrees, the river was banked out, and its channel narrowed and deepened, the ford gave place to a ferry, which is commemorated still in the name of Horseferry Road. The abbey which originally stood close by the water's edge was gradually separated from it by a narrow belt of land, foreshore at first, but afterwards wholly reclaimed, and now, as we shall see, the site of the palace of parliament. The marshes to the north were drained by what became in process of time the ornamental water in St. James's Park, and half the divided stream of Tyburn passed through it, and by a narrowed channel, south of the site of the future Whitehall, into the Thames. On the southern side of the Thorn-ey, too, the low lying lands were slowly reclaimed, part of the Tyburn being conducted into and through the abbey itself, and part being applied to grind the abbot's corn before it ran out at Millbank, where there was a second mill and a slaughterhouse, belonging to the king's palace.

* See Stanley, 'Memorials,' p. 9.

Thorney, according to a well qualified authority,* was 470 yards long and 370 broad, and was washed by the Thames on the east; by a rivulet which ran down College Street on the south; by a streamlet which crossed King Street on the north; and by a moat called the Long Ditch, which united the two streams and ran along the line of Prince's and Delahay Streets. Stone walls defended the whole precinct, pierced by handsome gates, one of which was in King Street, one near New Palace Yard, one opening on Tothill Street,† and one in College Street where stood the abbey mill. Bridges crossed the brooks, and are said to exist still, but far beneath the present streets, for Thorney has been raised about nine feet, on the average, above its ancient level.

How early our kings had a palace here we have no means of knowing. It may have preceded the monastery, as St. Margaret's may have preceded St. Peter's, but neither supposition is probable. The earliest reference to a palace is in the story of Canute's rebuking the tide, which some of the chroniclers have made to take place at Westminster.‡ There is no contemporary evidence to go upon; and whatever of palace or monastery existed before the middle of the ninth century, disappeared later, and for many years Westminster lay in ruins, deserted even by the monks. The Danes were at large in Middlesex, and London Wall § kept them out, but there was nothing to withstand them on Thorney, and when Dunstan became powerful under Edgar, the abbey was re-founded

* William Bardwell, 'Westminster Improvements,' p. 8, and Smith's 'Westminster,' p. 27.

† Built in the reign of Edward III., by Walter Warfield, the Abbot's butler.—Bardwell, p. 11.

‡ Southampton is usually the scene of this legend. See Stanley, 'Memorials,' p. 7.

§ See above, chap. iii.

and endowed with an estate, part of which is still in the possession of the monks' successors, the dean and chapter. The charter of Edgar contains an account of the boundaries of the great manor with which he endowed the abbey. They are the boundaries of the original parish of St. Margaret, and are of the highest interest to the London topographer.* I therefore quote them in full :—

"First up from *Temese*, along *Merfleotes*, to *pollene-stocce* so to *Bulunga fenn*; afterwards from the *fenne* along the old ditch to *cuforde*; from *cuforde* up along *Teoburn* to the wide *herestreet*; along the *herestreet* to the old *stoccene* of St. Andrew's Church, so into *Lundene fenn*; along south on *Tameise* in midstream; along the stream 'be lande and be strande' to *Merfleote*."

I have given the Saxon names in their original spelling. It is a question if we can identify the places mentioned. If we take a map which shows the undivided parish of St. Margaret, we find it bounded on the west and southwest by Chelsea; on the north by Oxford Street, as far as St. Giles's; on the east by St. Clement Danes. But from the evidence of this charter, there was apparently a time when all these boundaries were different. The Merfleet must, from its name, have been a tidal creek. Pollenstock speaks of an osier bed, or something like it. Bulunga Fen is a marshy place. All these conditions were fulfilled in the land which lies between Millbank and Chelsea, though the old names are lost. From the reference to the Tyburn,

* Widmore, p. 21.; Saunders, 'Archæologia,' xxvi. 223; Kemble, 'Codex Diplomaticus,' No. 569. There are many marks about this charter to show that it is a copy, but an early one. The date, 951, should, as Kemble thinks, be 971; and there is a mistaken reference to Wulfred as being archbishop in the time of Offa. But the definition of boundaries is in Anglo-Saxon, and even if it does not belong to Edgar's time is of antiquity before the Conquest, and in every way valuable.

which we can here safely identify with the so-called King's Scholars' Pond Sewer, we may begin by placing the Merfleet at its outfall just east of Albion Terrace, on the Grosvenor Road. The word "fleet" points to a tidal estuary. The mention of Pollenstock and Cowford points to places at which the boundary does not run quite straight. We shall not be far wrong therefore, if we place the pollard willow very near the Victoria Station. The second bend would be that marked by the mention of Bulunga Fen, which may be placed at Buckingham Palace in the Green Park. The Tyburn next crosses what must be a very ancient roadway, now represented by Piccadilly. Here, then, is the Cowford, as nearly as possible where Brick Street, formerly Engine Street,* opens on Piccadilly. Thence to Oxford Street the brook winds, and the boundary is defined as being along it; and so we reach the wide *herestreet*,† the military way which the Romans had made to bring the Watling Street into connection with London Bridge. Along this road it continued to "the old stock" of St. Andrew's Church, perhaps an ancient tree in what is now Holborn. Thence it ran to the Fleet, here called "Lundene Fen," and "south on Thames in mid-stream." The abbot, by this expression, "on midstream," no doubt intended to guard himself against any future royal claim to foreshore, but, as we shall see, the precaution was eminently unsuccessful.

It will have been observed that with these boundaries the abbot had a larger tract eastward, and a smaller one westward than afterwards constituted the parish of St. Margaret. A great part of the city ward of Farringdon Without belonged to Westminster. There is no mention

* See above, chap. i.

† *Here*, an army, expedition, host, legion, multitude, troop, chiefly of enemies, any number of men above thirty-five.—Bosworth's Dictionary.

of St. Bride's or St. Dunstan's and we may safely conclude that they did not exist. St. Bride's would, almost certainly, have been mentioned like St. Andrew's. St. Dunstan was himself alive in 971. When these two churches were built and long afterwards we find the abbey of Westminster presenting to them. Henry III. appropriated St. Dunstan's to his hospital for converted Jews,* but St. Bride's is still in the gift of the dean and chapter.

The other end of the parish was extended. We saw† that a second stream ran into the Thames to the westward of the Tyburn, the brook which is commemorated in the modern district of Westbourne. Shortly after the conquest Geoffrey de Mandeville gave the abbot of Westminster the land which lay between the Tyburn and the Westbourne, that is to say, all Hyde Park as far as the modern Serpentine and all the Thames bank between the modern King's Scholars' Pond Sewer, and the Ranelagh Sewer: and the northern and southern parts of this great accession of territory were divided into Ebury, or Eybury and Hyde, both names being very likely derived from the same word *Ey*, or *Eia* by which the manor is distinguished in Domesday. Furthermore the abbot acquired three other estates. Of Paddington and Westbourne I shall speak in a subsequent chapter: but the manor of Neat, or Neyt, brought the boundary of St. Margaret's up to that of Kensington. This manor comprised all the land south and west of the Serpentine, most of Kensington Gardens, and the south side of the Kensington Road into High Street. Its boundaries are interesting. If we begin in the Uxbridge or Bayswater Road, we find the line runs down the ornamental water half-way to the bridge, thence passes westward through the

* Now the Rolls.

† Chapter i.

trees till it almost reaches the Orangery. There it slopes northward and taking in all but the first five houses of Kensington Palace Gardens, runs south in a straight line to High Street, and including all the houses on the left hand of the way as we go towards London, crosses the road just after we pass what used to be called Gore Lane, but is now Queen's Gate or Prince Albert Road. Kensington Gore, the Albert Hall and the Horticultural Gardens are in Westminster, but the line runs so as to exclude the new Natural History and the South Kensington Museums, which are in Kensington, or rather in the Kensington hamlet of Brompton. Thence the boundary runs eastward, gradually approaching the main road, which is touched, just as we have passed the new Knightsbridge Barracks, where Kensington, Westminster and Chelsea meet at the point at which the Westbourne used to cross the road. An old inn, the *Fox & Bull*, formerly stood by the bridge, and is mentioned as early as the reign of queen Elizabeth. The French Embassy in Albert Gate is on the site, and the brook runs under the roadway. A modern *Fox & Bull* close by is now in process of demolition.

The notice of Westminster in the Domesday Book is apparently very precise, yet from the difficulty involved in all attempts to estimate exactly the modern value of a hide of land, it has caused much controversy among those learned in such matters. The hide in Stepney, a holding fairly well defined, contained seventy-nine acres. But in Westminster which comprised sixteen hides and a half, it must, if our geography is right, have been only seventy hides. The discrepancy may be partially resolved by remembering that in Stepney there was more land than in Westminster occasionally, if not constantly submerged. Of the sixteen hides and a half which constituted

the manor of Westminster, three were held by a tenant named Bainiard, or Baynard. It has usually been assumed that Baynard is the baron who built Castle Baynard in the city, and it has been conjectured that his three hides of land comprised the rising slope from the Fleet to Temple Bar which later on was the ward of Joce Fitz Peter, and was ultimately absorbed by the city as part of Farringdon Without. There would be little objection to this assignment if we had any further mention of Baynard in connection with Fleet Street: but we have none. Another place, Bayswater, equally claims to have been the holding of Baynard, but this cannot be, for the simple reason that, as we have seen above, the abbot had no estate westward of the Tyburn, till he received Geoffrey's bequest.* Baynard's holding has also been identified with Lincoln's Inn, but this is almost certainly an error. I only mention the question, in fact, to show how little is known, and how easy it is to make and defend theories which seem always the more plausible the less we really know.

The abbot's manor contained all the elements of truly rural life. There were cottages and ploughs, cattle and hogs, meadow and woodland, but only twenty-five houses "of the abbot's knights and of other men." †

Such was the estate which belonged to the abbey of Westminster at the beginning of the twelfth century. But disintegration was already in progress. In the eleventh century, at what exact date is not known, the

* I am inclined to think another and much later Baynard will be found to have been the abbot's tenant, and to have given his name to Bayswater.

† It seems to me quite plain from this that either Fleet Street was no longer in the manor, a theory no one has ever started, or it was still unbuilt, which latter hypothesis will best square with known facts. For an opposite view, however, the reader is referred to Mr. Saunders's paper in *Archæologia*, xxvi., already mentioned.

king took up his abode either in the abbey, or close to it. Who was the first king to make a palace at Westminster we cannot tell. It may have been Canute or one of his unworthy sons : but it is more likely that Edward the Confessor, led by the strongly superstitious bent of his mind, fearing the Londoners more than he loved them, and thinking himself safer outside the walls than inside, considered the protection offered by the sacred character of the cloister of St. Peter sufficient. Certain it is that he passed the greater part of his reign at Westminster, and that he projected and built a church for the monks which in some respects was probably not inferior to what we see now. This is evident if we observe that the cloister still covers the same ground that it covered then. If there is one architectural feature of the church more familiar than another to Englishmen and all English-speaking people it is the “Poets’ Corner.” The Poets’ Corner is formed in the south transept by the projection into it of a corner of the cloister. When Henry III. rebuilt church and cloister alike he did not disturb the Saxon ground plan, and thus the south transept has no western aisle.* The Confessor’s church extended from the modern communion table westward to a door which opens into the western walk of the cloister.

Some fragments of his work may still be identified. Among them are the arches which lead from the cloister southward to the school, which have a series of very curious ancient chambers of the same period adjoining them. The passage into Little Dean’s Yard is modern,

* A glance at the accompanying plan will explain this. I have to thank Mr. J. Henry Middleton, F.S.A., for leave to use it. In conjunction with Mr. Micklethwaite, he has been engaged in researches in the abbey for many years, and it is probable that this plan will prove to be the most accurate hitherto published.

but many traces of old work are to be seen, including the break in the vaulting, where a staircase used to lead up to the dormitory. There is a description of the abbey in an old manuscript volume in the Harleian collection,* which was written for queen Edith, therefore before 1074, when she died. From it we gather that the church, which survived until a fire in the reign of Henry III., had an apse, a central tower, two towers at the western end, a cloister, a chapter house † on the present site, a refectory and a dormitory, with surrounding offices. Of these the crypt of the chapter house, the basement of the dormitory and the north wall of the refectory are still in existence. The abbey absorbed the parish church. For a time, at least, the few parishioners worshipped in the north aisle of the nave, but the first erection of St. Margaret's is always attributed to the Confessor.‡ Two theories may be held on this subject. It may be supposed that the parish church was dedicated to St. Margaret § before the abbey was placed on Thorney, or it may be thought that the dedication was a new one. In favour of this second view must be put the absence of the name from early charters; but we have no better evidence either way, and no contemporary record of the building of the church.

There continued, however, an altar, called the "Jesus altar," for the parishioners in the abbey church. There

* Printed in 'Lives of Edward,' Rolls Series, p. 417.

† See full account in Scott's 'Gleanings,' p. 3.

‡ Widmore, p. 12.

§ There are five saints of the name in Husenbeth's 'Emblems,' p. 109. Of these the dates exclude St. Margaret of Cortona, St. Margaret of Scotland, and B. Margaret of Hungary. B. Margaret of Castello is the fourth; and the fifth, who must be identified with the church of Westminster, is St. Margaret, a virgin martyr in the fourth century. She is frequently represented in local sculpture as rising from a dragon which has her robe in his mouth.

has been some misapprehension as to its position though it remained till the abolition of chantries. In fact there were two such altars. One of them stood at the eastern end of the nave, where is now the entrance to the choir. It was elevated on steps and shut in with side screens. Above it was a large rood screen, extending across the whole church, and to the eastward, at the same level as the rood screen, was an upstairs oratory, called, like the altar below, after our Saviour. To these two places the parishioners obtained access, as well as to their own church in the churchyard.*

Although St. Margaret's cannot compete with the abbey church in its interesting associations, there is yet much to record of it. Restoration after restoration has removed every trace of antiquity from its walls. Even the churchyard, with its venerable gravestones, has been desecrated, the inscriptions obliterated or covered, and much that was curious or interesting destroyed. It is sad to think that such vandalisms should have been carried out within the past two years, and under the name of improvements. The work, indeed, was begun at a time when there was, if possible, even less reverence than at present for antiquity, for one of the earliest parliamentary grants for the repair of St. Margaret's was made the year after the execution of Charles I. † There were further repairs several times before 1780, which is the date on the leaden spouting; and in 1845 there was a vote of

* I am much indebted to Mr. Middleton for this information.

† Walcott, 'Westminster,' a compilation which must be referred to with caution, though it is the most accessible book on the subject. It is somewhat unfortunate that both the modern historians of the abbey and of the adjacent church should have been so little characterised by historical accuracy that none of their assertions can be received without proof. I have avoided in this chapter as far as possible references to Dean Stanley's and Precentor Walcott's books.

£1200 which produced most disastrous results. Since that time St. Margaret's has been a new church, and seven years ago it was still further "restored." The House of Commons has, ever since the time of the great rebellion, looked on this church as its peculiar care, and when we see what has come of it, we cannot but rejoice that they extend their attention to no other London churches.

There are a few names connected with St. Margaret's, however, that even the omnipotence of an act of parliament, or the marauding hand of the restorer, cannot quite obscure. It requires an effort of mind to remember in the new church such ancient worthies as Chaucer, Caxton, and Sir Walter Raleigh. Until last year there remained also a tangible memorial to William Cowper. There is now only a memory, and he is as unreal at St. Margaret's as the other three. It would be curious to know if Caxton, when he wrote with such warm admiration of Chaucer, was aware that the great poet lived close to St. Margaret's, in a house on the site of Henry VII.'s chapel, while he was clerk of the works at the abbey. It was in St. Margaret's that the heralds held their inquiry as to the Scrope and Grosvenor arms, in 1386, when Chaucer gave the evidence before them which has proved of such importance to his biographers.* Caxton lived near the western end of the abbey, in a house called the "Reed Pale," which may be translated, perhaps, by "red paling," which stood very near the spot marked now by the Crimean memorial column—a "pale" of red granite. He probably died in 1491, as, though registers had not yet been invented, the churchwarden's accounts record the expenditure, midway between 1490 and 1492, of 6s. 8d. for torches, and 6d. for bell ringing at the "bureyng of

* It is noticed above, chap. ix. p. 257.

William Caxton.”* He well deserved this favour from the parish, to which he had bequeathed some copies of his ‘Golden Legend,’ which were sold by the churchwardens for the benefit of the poor. In 1496, for instance, we have the entry of the receipt of 6*s.* 8*d.* for “oone of thoo printed bokes that were bequothen to the churche behove by William Caxton.” That Caxton was buried within and not without the church was a matter of faith with Dr. Dibdin and the bibliographers of his time; and in 1820 the Roxburgh Society put up a tablet to his memory in the south aisle, near the east end.

Although the probable site of his house is that which I have indicated, it must be remembered that before this quarter of the town was rased to the ground, the building which was locally called by his name, and which stood here, was not two hundred years old. It may, of course, have occupied an older site. The house of Caxton was in the Almonry. The Almonry was just here. Therefore, to put the matter in logical form, one of the houses on this site was his. Caxton was a member of the mercers’ company, as we saw above.† There were many houses in Westminster held by the company from the abbot, and he may, as Mr. Blades, his latest and best biographer asserts, have hired one of them. This is by no means certain.‡ Nor is it as certain as Mr. Blades would wish us to believe that this was Caxton’s only connection with the abbot. At the same time, in the absence of trustworthy information to the contrary, we had best withhold our final judgment, and agreeing that

* The volume in which the entry occurs was shown in the Caxton Exhibition at South Kensington in 1877.

† Chap. ix. p. 267.

‡ The mercers have a good many houses in and about Long Acre, adjoining the Convent, or Covent Garden. Their badge is still to be seen in St. Martin’s Lane and Long Acre.

Caxton lived very near the Crimean memorial, and that Stow is wrong in making abbot Islip his patron, since Caxton died before Islip was elected, we may accept the little that we do know and see how far it connects him with Westminster and Westminster Abbey. In one of his prologues he mentions the fact that abbot Esteney "did do shewe" him certain evidences: that is, abbot Esteney allowed them to be shown to him. There is nothing in this to prove that the abbot and the printer ever came into personal contact. When we consider that the lord abbot of such an establishment not only held a high social rank, but also belonged to a society of monks, more or less recluse in their habits, it is possible that Caxton never so much as saw an abbot of Westminster in his life. He was, in fact, while he lived at the Red Pale, in the position of a retired wool stapler of moderate means, who had returned from the Low Countries, after long dealings with the merchants whom the commercially minded Edward IV. had established so near his own palace, and had naturally gravitated to the neighbourhood of the market place where his fortune had been founded. He had been thirty-five years abroad, and had imbibed at Bruges some of the artistic tastes which fostered the contemporary genius of Van Eyck and Memling. His literary ability had been stimulated by communication with Colard Mansion and other learned men, and when he came home and settled in the Almonry, he took to printing as he had learned it abroad, to fill up his leisure, to give himself an opportunity of publishing his own voluminous works, and, possibly, to add to the small savings he had brought home with him. He conducted the business, if, indeed, it can be called a business, which must have been much more of an amusement, with the same instinctive skill

and care which had characterised his mercantile work at Bruges : and the result leaves him in a high rank among the founders of the selection of words from various sources which we call the English language. Caxton, as Mr. Green * well remarks, stood between two schools of translation, that of French affectation and that of English pedantry. He only took to printing as the employment of his declining years. He survived his return home only fifteen years. But during the time he lived in the Almonry he must have worked with prodigious energy, both at the press and in the study, and he certainly contrived before his death to make printing popular among his countrymen. He printed and published during that time about a hundred different volumes and tracts, of which some ninety-four have been identified. Several of them have been found made into pasteboard for bindings, the greatest discovery of the kind having been at St. Albans a few years ago. The British Museum preserves eighty volumes from his press. Thirty-three of his books are only known by a single example or by imperfect copies, and the greatest number of copies of any one work is only twenty-nine. The modern bibliomaniac thinks with longing of the time when a churchwarden of St. Margaret's could sell the 'Golden Legend' for 6*s.* 8*d.*

The woollen market, or wool staple, at Westminster was looked upon with jealous eyes by the neighbouring citizens of London. The market house stood just where the modern Westminster Bridge springs from its abutments. It was destroyed in 1741, being then surrounded by other buildings, for all of which the sum of £840 was paid by authority of an act of parliament.† A new place on which to hold a market was obtained from the dean

* ii. 56.

† Smith, p. 261.

and chapter in the Broad Sanctuary, but the only building of a civic character that remains is the so-called " Guild-hall." It stands on the site of a tower in which, before the western end of the abbey church was completed, the bells were hung. The staple owed its origin to one of the periodical fits of anger against the Londoners in which Henry III. used to indulge. He ordered the city shops to be closed for fifteen days in October, 1248, and held a fair in Westminster. This fair became an annual occurrence, and was under the immediate control of the abbot, who appointed a vacant space in Tothill Fields for its celebration. The privilege of holding it was one among the many causes of the quarrel between the abbot and the citizens which Simon de Montfort in vain endeavoured to settle.* A more regular market was established by statute in 1353, when, to encourage the trade in wool, its headquarters were fixed at Westminster, and a "mayor of the staple" was appointed to superintend it. Edward IV. had extensive dealings in wool, and the Westminster staple flourished for many generations. It is possibly owing to its existence on this spot that the mercers' company rented houses from the dean and chapter. The principal scene of operations was north of Bridge Street, then the Weighhouse Lane, at the foot of which was a floating pier, or "bridge," marked in many old maps and views. In the eighteenth century an attempt was also made to set up a fish market, but it failed, owing as was said to the opposition of the city fishmongers and the merchants of Billingsgate.

Although Raleigh's headless body was laid in the chancel more than a century after Caxton's death, the appearance of Westminster had not, in spite of the sup-

* See above, vol. i. chap. v.

pression of the monasteries, undergone a very great change. The alterations of the last two hundred years have been far greater. Hollar, who, according to one account, was himself buried near the north-western corner of the tower, has preserved for us much of the look of the place fifty years later. When the wide roadway which now passes between the east ends of the two churches and the condemned law courts, was known as St. Margaret's Lane, and was full of houses; when a gateway stood where lord Derby's statue stands now, and another close to the chapel of Henry VII.; when other gateways marked the end of King Street, and the entrance of the Sanctuary; when the busy corner where Parliament Street now opens into Bridge Street was part of a continuous row of houses reaching to the water gate at the river's edge, Westminster presented an aspect very different from that open expanse of grass and flower beds which we now see, and the ungraceful tower of St. Margaret's came into no competition, either with the abbey towers, which were not built till 1720, or with the "pagoda" clock tower or the other ornamental features of the new palace of parliament. A network of government offices, narrow gardens, canons' houses, gothic archways, almonries, and chapels filled all the space now cleared and green. The buildings encroached on the churchyard and even on the abbey. Many of us can easily remember, before Victoria Street was thought of, that the Dean's yard was only one of a number of miserable little squares and narrow lanes of squalid houses, a nest of fever and vice, the despair of reformers and the delight of antiquaries.* Now only the hall and

* Smith, in his 'Antiquities of Westminster,' and Archer in his 'Old London,' have preserved many of the picturesque features left standing in the present century.

some minor parts of the old palace can be found. King Street has nearly disappeared and is no longer a principal thoroughfare. The clock tower near the hall, the abbot's prison and the conduit, close to which Raleigh's scaffold stood, have all departed, and left not a "rack behind." The time of William Cowper seems now, so far as Westminster is concerned, equally remote as that of Raleigh. It was in the churchyard of St. Margaret's, while he was a scholar at Westminster, that he received one of those impressions which had so strong an effect on his after life. Crossing the burial ground one dark evening towards his home in the school, he saw the glimmering lantern of a grave-digger at work. He approached to look on, with a boyish craving for horrors, and was struck by a skull heedlessly thrown out of the crowded earth. To the mind of William Cowper such an accident had an extraordinary significance. In after life he remembered it as the occasion of religious emotions not readily suppressed. On the south side of the church, until the recent "restoration," there was a stone, the inscription on which suggests the less gloomy view of Cowper's character. It marked "The Burial Place of Mr. John Gilpin"; the date was not to be made out, but it must have been fresh when Cowper was at school: and it would be absurd to doubt that the future poet had seen it, and perhaps unconsciously adopted from it the name of his hero.

The domestic buildings of Westminster Abbey have been so effectually disguised and altered that it is almost if not quite impossible to make any complete plan of what they were. Mr. Middleton's map gives the results of the latest investigations. Though, as I have said, there is not much in proportion of the Confessor's work still to be seen, its remains are in reality more extensive than is generally supposed. Many people were

lately anxious as to the fate of a building standing in the so-called "Little Dean's Yard," a square on the south side of the cloister. Ashburnham House, which is reasonably believed to have been built by Inigo Jones, has, like a kind of backbone running along the whole building from end to end, a thick wall of very ancient masonry, pierced here and there with modern doorways, in which its immense solidity is apparent. This was the southern side of the "Misericorde," or place of indulgence, an adjunct to the refectory, where the monks who, for any special reason had obtained leave, ate and drank the cakes and beer provided out of some charitable fund for their benefit. Across the garden of the house is seen another great wall, pierced with round arched openings. Here stood the refectory. The dormitory has suffered even more; it is now in part a school-room, and has been so much altered and defaced that its very form is made out with difficulty. All these buildings are survivals, more or less complete, of the Confessor's work. His own palace stood eastward of the monastery, yet in places connected with it. So completely has everything been changed by the building of the houses of parliament, that it is difficult to identify even the ground on which the older buildings stood. But after the disastrous fire of 1834, it was found that the Confessor's work was greater than had been supposed, and that very little of Henry III.'s palace took up fresh ground.

Two buildings stood at right angles to each other, the chapel of St. Stephen and the so-called Painted Chamber. The house of commons sat in the chapel, the house of lords in the painted chamber, which was also sometimes described as the white hall* and the court of requests.

* A name which misled Brayley into confounding it with Whitehall, otherwise York Place, 'Ancient Palace,' p. 357. There was a "white chamber" in the palace, as well.

This was the principal feature of Edward's palace, and if we could replace it as it was, we should find it covering the statue of Richard I., which now stands in the angle formed by the south front of Westminster Hall and the modern buildings. The windows to the east of the great hall window light St. Stephen's Gallery, which occupies the site of the chapel. It is believed that Sir Charles Barry might have saved and restored the chapel* badly as it was damaged by the fire; but, to judge by the "restoration" of its crypt, we should not have been much the better.

There is evidence that the southern end, at least, of Westminster Hall is of very early work. But the present hall is due to Richard II., and the previous building was that of William Rufus, and must have been smaller. We can therefore say nothing of what the Confessor built here. When the cloister court was formed on the east side, the buildings came to the river's edge, and the site afterwards occupied by the Speaker's Garden, and now by the principal buildings of the houses of parliament, was under water. The Speaker's house stood almost where the lobby of the House of Commons is now, having been formed out of a row of lodgings for the priests connected with the collegiate chapel of St. Stephen.

Henry III. added much to the palace. When we consider the magnitude of this king's architectural schemes, we need not seek further for any explanation of his constant want of money, and the endless demands he made upon the citizens of London. In a future chapter I shall have something to say of his buildings at the Tower. At Westminster he not only almost rebuilt the Confessor's church, but spent lavish sums on his own palace. Some of his chambers were fancifully named, perhaps from the

* Fergusson.

character of their decorations : as the Antioch chamber, from a picture of the siege of Antioch by the crusaders. In the deanery to this day there is a "chamber called Jerusalem," now generally misnamed the Jerusalem chamber, and another called Jericho. In the old palace there was Heaven, Paradise, Purgatory, and even Hell.* The last named was as nearly as possible the judges' retiring room in the modern Court of Queen's Bench, now condemned to destruction. This corner, in Tudor times, was the royal nursery.†

Of the law courts at Westminster we have heard much in late years. The king's judges used to travel with him, but many of our early sovereigns sat as a matter of course to hear cases. Henry III. sat in the Court of Exchequer in 1248 and 1256. James I. is the last king who "came to judgment." Westminster Hall very gradually became the head quarters of the law courts, but that they were at least occasionally fixed here appears from a report of pleas as early as 1200. They were not, however, absolved from travelling after the king till 1224, when the judges commenced to sit in the hall, as they have, nominally at least, sat ever since until now. There are some curious views extant of the different courts,‡ and various chambers were at different times appropriated to them. Edward I., however, took the judges to Shrewsbury in 1277 to assist in trying Llewellyn, Prince of Wales. In 1289 he made inquiries into the administration of justice at Westminster and punished nearly all his judges for taking bribes. It is said that a bell tower,

* In one of the canons' houses at Canterbury there is still an ancient room called Paradise.

† The reader is referred to Smith's 'Westminster,' and to Brayley and Britton's 'Ancient Palace of Parliament,' for full and accurate accounts of the old buildings.

‡ See some fine plates in 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxix.

opposite the entrance of Westminster Hall was erected with the proceeds of the fines, but, if so, it was completely rebuilt by Edward III., and subsequently became a clock tower, and as such is figured in some of Hollar's views. There was also a bell tower within the palace, and it is not easy to unravel the intricacy of the accounts as to which of them is meant by the record.

Of the modern houses of parliament much might be said did space and time permit. The new palace is the result of a long series of more or less stupid mistakes, and more or less ignorant experiments. That it is so satisfactory can only be accounted for by the enormous amount of money spent. Seen from the river the front has a symmetry not wholly unpleasing ; but marred by the comparative lowness of the central part of the façade, which deprives it of dignity. The landward side is wanting in unity and seems to straggle. Much the most picturesque parts of the building are the little known courts, where no attempt at ornament or symmetry was made, and where the irregular beauties of the style assert themselves rather in spite of the architect than with his help. The ground plan looks well on paper. The way in which Westminster Hall was worked into the design, the octagon, with the four passages leading to it and the simplicity of the lobby arrangements, account for the ease with which a stranger can find his way about. The royal entrance under the southern tower, by an archway sixty feet high, and a wide staircase leading to the splendid but meaningless royal gallery, is very fine and grand. It is but too easy to find fault. The decorations are oppressive in their number and monotony. The architect knew little about the Tudor style, and could give no variety. On the exterior the pannelling is simply tiresome, while only the central tower can be considered beautiful. The

great Victoria tower might have been one of Wren's gothic efforts, and differs chiefly in size from the tower of St. Mary Aldermanry. Of the clock tower it is more than sufficient condemnation to say one is constantly tempted to call it the "clock case," so exactly does it resemble a common or domestic article of furniture. It still bears the mark of recent completion ; for Barry hoped to have been allowed to make New Palace Yard a quadrangle, and to have erected a great gateway, the design of which with its high pitched roof is well known, and more nearly approaches picturesqueness than anything else he did in this style. In short, the palace is what might have been expected when we forced the greatest master of the Italian style we had in England to build in gothic ; just as, a little later we compelled our greatest gothic architect to build the new government offices in an Italian style. The offices in St. James's Park are, however, among Sir Gilbert Scott's most picturesque works, while it cannot be said that anything except the ground plan at the palace of Westminster is worthy of the artist who designed Bridgewater House and the Reform Club in Pall Mall.

Westminster hall was, practically, renewed by Barry, who removed the southern end, placed the window a few feet back, and made room for a broad platform or landing for the staircase which opens from the western side, facing Henry VII.'s chapel. It is difficult to realise now the old appearance of the hall.* The little shops, as archbishop Laud notes in his diary,† took fire in 1631, but the damage was insignificant : and the noble oak roof was spared. It was found to be in a very rickety

* A copy of a view made early in the eighteenth century is among the accompanying plates.

† Quoted by Timbs, p. 829.

state in 1820, and forty loads of old ship's timbers were brought from Portsmouth to repair it, and to complete the northern end, which had never been quite finished. A somewhat similar restoration had been made of the curious frieze of the badges and crests of Richard II. which surrounds the whole building, a few years earlier. Some relics of Norman work were obliterated under Barry *; and as the whole has been refaced, a great arch erected in the eastern wall to form a members' entrance to the cloisters, a wide flight of steps built at the southern end, and some not very interesting statues of English kings and queens set up on the east side, it would not be easy, but for the roof, to find anything in the Westminster hall of to-day which was there when the estates of the realm met here to choose a new king. The walls "were hung and trimmed sumptuously," and a vacant throne stood in the midst. Near it sat the duke of Lancaster, ready to ascend it as soon as the voice of the assembly had declared him Richard's successor. This was the first great pageant in the new hall. Since then it has seen many another. Here Oldcastle was tried and condemned. Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, and sometime lord protector of the realm, was tried in Westminster Hall, before his peers, the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, sitting as high steward.† Not long after, his great enemy, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, was sentenced to death in the same hall. The duke of Norfolk, under queen Elizabeth, was tried in Westminster hall, the earl of Shrewsbury being high steward. Here Strafford and his unhappy master met for the last time, when Charles and his queen attended the trial. Here Charles himself encountered

* See view in Brayley and Britton, plate viii.

† See several of these trials in Mr. Bell's 'Chapel in the Tower.'

Bradshaw and his assessors, and bore himself in more royal wise than at any other conjuncture of his reign. Here the seven bishops were acquitted, and the Scots lords condemned. The trial of Warren Hastings was opened in Westminster hall, a trial which is rendered the more memorable by lord Macaulay's eloquent description of its commencement.*

The palace of Westminster was occasionally inhabited by Henry VIII. : but after he had taken Whitehall from Wolsey, and St. James's from the nuns of the hospital, it ceased to be a royal residence. It had been much damaged by fire in the early part of Henry's reign, and when he obtained or seized Whitehall, he must have been very poorly lodged at Westminster, which may account for his love of Bridewell. When the papal ascendancy had been thrown off, and the monks had been banished from St. Peter's abbey, the king can have had little object in residing among some ruinous buildings, disendowed chapels, desecrated shrines, and—if Henry had anything like sentiment or superstition left in his selfish mind—the graves of his father and his mother, which he had deprived of the services they had thought so needful to their repose, and had tried to secure by so many safeguards. It was but a few years before the final suppression that Henry VIII. received the renewed oath of an abbot of Westminster, to provide the accustomed masses in the chapel of Henry VII.† Some of the ancient observances continued to be celebrated in the chapel of Henry VII. till the end of his son's reign: but ceased immediately on

* It is often asserted that queen Anne Boleyn was tried in Westminster hall. Mr. Bell has shown that the high steward and his court sat in the "King's hall" in the White Tower, p. 101.

† Syllabus of Rymer's 'Foedera,' p. 773, 12 May, 1533. Abbot Benson, or Boston, surrendered on the 16th January, 1540, and was appointed first dean.

the accession of Edward VI.: who was himself buried under the altar of the chapel, an altar of beautiful renaissance work, portions of which have lately been recovered and replaced.*

Since Henry III. had consecrated the mound of holy earth he had obtained from Palestine, by the translation of the body of Edward the Confessor, most of his descendants had chosen the chapel behind the high altar for their tombs. Many of Henry VII.'s descendants were buried in his chapel, but the body of George III. was laid beside those of Charles I., Henry VIII., Edward IV., and Henry VI. in the chapel of St. George, adjoining the royal palace at Windsor. Henry III. reserved the Confessor's ancient coffin for himself and the bones of the saint were laid in a magnificent shrine, the mere remains of which are all we can now see. It is even doubtful, if any of the "holy relics" are still in the tomb, which was renewed by queen Mary and again by James II. At the north side is the monument with its effigy of Henry III., completed ten years after his death by the piety of Edward I., whose own tomb is as plain and solid as if it had been hewn out of one of the Welsh or Scottish hills among which he wrought his mighty deeds. The plainness of Edward's tomb is the more remarkable because of the magnificence he bestowed on the tombs of his father and of his wife, whose figure, if it be indeed a portrait, is the first we have of any English sovereign, since it was completed before that of her father-in-law, Henry III. The cross Edward made in her honour at Charing remains there still in name, though the statue of Charles I. occupies the site; but the modern cross which so unmeaningly decorates the approach to the neighbouring

* Mr. Middleton obtained the restitution of a portion of the altar from a museum at Oxford in 1879.

railway station, is probably as faithful a reproduction as can be expected in the nineteenth century of the sculpture and architecture of the thirteenth. Edward also completed his father's design for rebuilding the abbey church, and added the four westernmost bays to the nave. When Edward himself was dying in 1307, at Burgh-on-the-Sands in Cumberland, he desired them to boil down his body in a cauldron, and to carry the bones against the rebels to "the very extremity of Scotland." But Edward II. was not the man to fulfil such directions. The body was embalmed and brought to Westminster, wrapped in cerecloth, and at intervals the tomb was opened, and a fresh winding sheet placed about it. The last of these renewals took place as late as the time of Henry V. In 1774 the tomb was again opened. A black marble coffin was found within the rough sarcophagus. The cerecloth was intact, and showed how carefully it had been applied for even each finger had its bandage. The body wore over its shroud the royal robes, with gilt crown and sceptre, and in this state it still lies.

It has several times been found easy to fill a volume with accounts of the tombs and monuments of Westminster Abbey. I shall notice here only a few. Edward III. rests near his grandfather, and close to him his wife. Near them is their unfortunate grandson Richard II. and his first wife, Anne of Bohemia. The effigy of the king was placed beside that of his consort in his own lifetime his hand clasping hers. Below was formerly the touching inscription, "I have been most happy and most miserable," the effect of which must have been somewhat marred by other lines of the epitaph, and in particular by the rhyming hexameters.*

One more royal tomb must be mentioned. The chantry

* Noticed above, vol. i. p. 251.

of Henry V. is not open to the public, and is seldom fully described. It consists of a kind of stone platform erected over the tomb, which is well known, with its headless oaken effigy. The western side of the screen consists of two slender staircases, so arranged that with the floor of the platform they assume the shape of the letter H. Over it is a cross beam on which were suspended the helmet, saddle, and shield, supplied by the undertakers for his state funeral.* The shield, according to the engraving of it by Sandford, represented France. There may have been another for England, but it has disappeared. The chantry itself is a wide space surrounded by low walls from which excellent bird's eye views may be obtained all over the church. No doubt, the people, far down in the nave at the Jesus altar were able to see the elevation of the host as the daily mass was performed in the chantry above.

Scarcely less important than the tombs of kings are those of their greatest ministers. Though lord Beaconsfield, who knew how the mighty dead jostle each other, so to speak, in Westminster Abbey, and how one's feelings of reverence at seeing the grave of one remarkable man, are immediately diverted to see another, chose rather to be buried in a country churchyard, yet few of his predecessors escaped the questionable honour. It comes to pass from their number, that one overlooks even the tombs of such men as the Pitts, whereas the solitary monument of lord Melbourne, in St. Paul's, is always conspicuous. But it may be safely said that of the thousands of altar tombs, tablets, cenotaphs, statues, busts, and other memorials, in the abbey, there is not one so simple, so mournful, so beautiful that it is not excelled by the black doorway in

* Dean Stanley seems to have thought they were his veritable arms, p. 149.

St. Paul's, and the pale angels that guard it.* The citizens of London would fain have buried Chatham in their cathedral. We have seen how he was loved in the city,† and are not surprised that they would, as Walpole sneeringly observes, "have robbed Peter to pay Paul." The statue, which was eventually placed in the abbey, would unquestionably have looked better in the cathedral. Bacon set an example in modelling the figure in modern dress and parliamentary robes, and, strange to say, not only designed the monument, but wrote the inscription. No inscription was ever placed on the monument of Perceval.

Of late years, with a view to economising space and fees, it has been the custom to put up little busts on brackets in all sorts of corners. The effect is intolerable. We talk of the incongruous monuments of General Wolfe or Mrs. Nightingale, but at least they are fine works of art. A naked quarter length of the late Mr. John Keble on a Greek pedestal, is fifty times more incongruous, and bad, besides, in itself. It is impossible not to regret that Dickens's dying wish was disregarded and that his body does not rest among the scenes he loved best, and where it would have been in a sense, an honour to the place. Here it is lost. In fact, the monuments‡ have become so numerous and so often commemorate people whom futurity will consider entitled to be called eminent chiefly because they have their memorials here, that a visit to the church is not what it was in the days of Addison and Sir Roger de Coverley, or Johnson and Goldsmith.

* Had Marochetti never executed any work but this he would have been reckoned a great sculptor. But he also made the statue of Richard I. in Old Palace Yard.

† Chapter xiv.

‡ The best account of the illustrious dead here interred is in the lamented Colonel Chester's book on the 'Registers of Westminster Abbey.'

The triforium of Westminster Abbey is just as full of objects of interest as every other part of the church. Yet it is not altogether a pleasant place to visit. One does not always wish to get behind, or, as in this case, above, the scenes. Even ancient abbeys have their seamy side. It is not at first possible to realise the value of every little heap of dust and rubbish which has accumulated here during so many centuries. A bundle of broken boards was once the canopy of a great king's tomb, removed to make way for the tomb of a greater than he. A heap of red fragments of terra-cotta were once the priceless images with which Torregiano decorated the high altar of Henry's sumptuous chapel. A magnificently modelled "torso," worthy of Michael Angelo, is among them, and some pedestals which still bear the "beautiful feet" of little angels. Tied up into faggots are the iron rails that bore the pall which concealed the plainness of the tomb of Edward I. In one corner is the sole remaining cope chest. In another are the curious little wooden obelisks which stood at either side of the choir gate when Dart made his view. Perched high up on beams are more than a hundred helmets, some of them still bearing their crests, which like that of Henry V. have come into the abbey with funerals. At the western end of the south side is a room which Bradshaw occupied in the days of the commonwealth. It communicates with the deanery which was granted to him, and here it is said by tradition he died. His ghost haunts the gloomy chamber still, and walks the triforium on the nights of the 30th January and the 22nd November.

In a chantry over the Islip chapel is the very curious and interesting collection of waxworks. For some reason the later deans have not been anxious that the public should see these characteristic figures, and some of the

more ancient are believed to have been locked away out of sight.* The commanding figure of Chatham in his robes, the imperious face of Elizabeth, the dingy image of Charles II. in its splendid point lace, the ghastly duke of Buckingham lying dead on his bier, but above all little William III. propped on a footstool beside his tall wife, both evidently portraits, and by no mean artist, should be visible to all who care to see them.

The transfer of Westminster from the abbot and his monks to the dean and his canons was made gentle by two circumstances. There were only 17 monks in the house at the suppression: and the last abbot became the first dean. The short-lived bishopric which made Westminster a city, and the "collegiate church" or royal chapel, a cathedral, helped also to keep alive the old feeling of the greatness of the place, for though a dean was nothing in comparison with a lord abbot, controlling an income which would now be reckoned at about 60,000*l.* a year, a bishop was a peer of Parliament, and bishop Thurlby turned the late abbot, now dean, out of the abbot's house and made it his palace. The dean made a house of the old Misericorde, already mentioned. Dean Benson, who had reigned for a brief period as abbot Boston, a name he derived from his birthplace, was one of these implements which kings like Henry, and ministers like Thomas Cromwell, always find ready to hand. He lived to repent of his misdeeds, and died, it was reported of "taking care." In 1533, the lord abbot's chair being vacant by the death of Islip,† Boston was

* Dean Stanley is careful to say very little about them, and excludes the word "waxwork" from his index.

† One of Newcourt's very rare mistakes is in his list of abbots, i. 717, where he says Islip was abbot from 1483 to 1510: thus wholly omitting Fascat. Islip became abbot in 1500, and died in May 1532. (Stanley, 355.)

brought from Burton-upon-Trent, to fill it. About the same time three manors which belonged to the abbey were pledged, or mortgaged, for 500*l.*, a large sum of money in those days. It was paid to Sir William Pawlet and to one Thomas Cromwell, not yet so well known to fame as he afterwards became. The new abbot was the first for three centuries who had not belonged to the house, and he played to perfection the part of the hireling shepherd. At the suppression he descended from his lofty station and became, as we have seen, the first dean, and Thurlby became first and last bishop of Westminster. Meanwhile Benson exerted himself to save some of the abbey estates for the new chapter, and partially succeeded, his exertions, it is probable, rather than his conscience, causing his death in 1549. He could not save the abbot's house, which on the suppression of the new see was given to the omnivorous lord Wentworth, who died in it immediately afterwards and was buried among the abbots. A second dean, Cox, inhabited the altered Misericorde, and on his flight a third, Weston, who had to make way for queen Mary's restored abbot. It was this Feckenham, so called from his birthplace in Suffolk, his family name being Howman, to whom the modern deans should be grateful for having obtained the abbot's house for them, as he effected an exchange with the new lord Wentworth, giving up to him instead the manor of Canonbury. It was this second lord Wentworth whose loss of Calais so deeply grieved queen Mary, and with Mary's life practically ended the rule of the last abbot. But the new deanery house was never again inhabited by a dean, and its subsequent history, which has been the subject of so much controversy of late, ends by disconnecting it from the abbey.

Queen Elizabeth founded Westminster School, and it

has often, without foundation, been asserted that Francis Bacon was among the early scholars. The queen is said, at one of her visits, to have asked him how often he had been flogged, on which the precocious boy replied in a line from Virgil—

“*Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem.*”*

At first the school and the abbey were very closely connected. Dean Goodman was a kind of headmaster, and even took boarders into the deanery. This connection subsists no longer. The encroachments of the school have long been viewed with disfavour by the chapter; and when just before the death of the lamented dean Stanley, the unwilling fulfilment of a “promise to their loss” deprived them of the original deanery, which had long been a canon’s residence, under the name of Ashburnham House, it was felt that the circumstances delicately described by the dean had been reversed. He spoke of the interests of the school having been occasionally overshadowed by those of the chapter. If so the cession of Ashburnham House, in 1881, and since then that of the organist’s house close by show that it is now the turn of the school.

Ashburnham House requires more than a passing mention. It stands as I have said, across the very wall of the Misericorde, and its garden looked on the little that is left of the Refectory. How far the school will injure it I know not, but visitors who remember its delicate carved panelling and the fragile stucco work, will tremble for its fate. There seems to be no authentic proof that it was designed by Inigo Jones: but the negative proof that he only could have designed it is very

* It is the opening of the speech of *Aeneas* to Dido. “Thou dost desire me, O queen, to recall unspeakable woe.” Book ii., line 3.

strong. It was unquestionably built in his time for the lessee or grantee whose name it has since borne, and with an ordinary but not unpleasing exterior, is arranged and decorated within in a style which justifies what was said of it by one of the objectors to the transfer:—it stands to modern domestic architecture as St. Stephen's Wallbrook stands to ecclesiastical, as showing the power of a master to produce in a moderate space and with ordinary materials an effect perfectly satisfactory.* I have already spoken of the beautiful dormitory of Westminster School, built by Lord Burlington, which is usually said to be slightly modified from a drawing by Inigo Jones, and which is certainly well worthy of that great man.

In 1536 Westminster is described in an act of parliament as a “town.” When the short lived bishopric was established in 1540, the town became a “city,” and after the suppression of the see ten years later, the title still stuck to it. In an act passed in 1604 it is called the “manor and city of Westminster.” Whether between 1550 and 1604 it was really a city may be questioned. It stands now alone among cities in possessing only the humbler attributes of a manor. Just as completely as if it was situated in a rural part of Wiltshire or Kent, it has its manorial officers, its lord, its steward, its bailiff: and it differs from London in having neither mayor, nor corporation, nor cathedral. It stands alone too among the Middlesex manors which have been absorbed into London, in the wider sense of that name, for not only does it preserve its manor house, but the lord of the

* Ashburnham House is figured in Smith's ‘Additional Plates,’ and in ‘Edifices of London’ by Britton and Pugin, ii. 90, where there are two engravings showing the staircase, from drawings by Gwilt. Sir John Soane made a series of drawings of it, which are, presumably, in his Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

manor lives in it. The manor houses of Rugmere and Stepney, of Tyburn and Kensington, of Finsbury and St. Pancras have disappeared. The manor house of Lylleston is a hospital. Of the manor house of Chelsea the very site is disputed. But at Westminster the lord of the manor of the church of St. Peter resides in his manor house in the reign of queen Victoria as he resided “tempore Regis Edwardi.”

The modern government of Westminster remains very much as it was when first organised by dean Goodman. “He was the virtual founder of the corporation of Westminster, of which the shadow still remains in the twelve burgesses and the high steward of Westminster—the last relic of the ‘temporal power’ of the ancient abbots His high steward was no less a person than lord Burleigh.”* It may be added that the present high bailiff is the duke of Buccleugh, and that the burgesses and assistants are appointed annually on Thursday in Easter Week by the high steward or his deputy. The high bailiff is a kind of sheriff, performs the duties of returning officer, and executes warrants issued by the court of the burgesses.

* Stanley, p. 422.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HAMLETS OF WESTMINSTER.

IN tracing the gradual disintegration of the great parish of which I spoke in the last chapter, it would be very satisfactory if we could pursue a strictly chronological method. But no such method is possible. There are great blanks and chasms in the records. It is likely that St. Clement Danes is as old as St. Bride's or St. Dunstan's, but we have no proof of the fact. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields first appears on the page of history as the chapel of a hamlet of St. Margaret's, but the others are full-fledged parish churches as soon as we hear of them. Of the various precincts, the Rolls, the Inns, and the Savoy, we have some historical information.* Of the later and more modern parishes of St. James, St. Anne, and St. George, the whole origin and formation is perfectly well known, and almost within living memory.

The first glimpse we obtain of a change in the great parish of St. Margaret is afforded by a decree made in 1222, in which we have again a definition of boundaries. Before we consider it, we may try to form an idea of the eastern part of the parish before that date. It extended, as we read in the last chapter, to the "London Fen," by which expression all authorities are agreed that the Fleet

* I have perhaps devoted too much attention to what may be called the theoretical as opposed to the strictly topographical part of this chapter : but while there are innumerable books about the one, no intelligible account of the early state of the district has hitherto, so far as I know, been published.

river is intended. But it must be something more than the Fleet. The word "fen" implies a wider tract than that actually occupied by the stream. In 951 there had probably been little change in the geography of this part of London since the time of the Romans. We know nothing of a gate at Ludgate. We do know of a gate at Newgate and of a "broad military road" from it. I have already mentioned the difficulty presented by the name of Ludgate. Some have endeavoured to connect it with the meeting of the folkmote within it: but that would make it "Leetgate," or "Ledgate," not Ludgate. The difficulty of deriving it from the Fleet or Flood is equally great—indeed, an eminent authority whom I have consulted, considers such a derivation "philologically impossible." I am driven, therefore, strange as it may seem, to fall back upon king Lud. If we ask when the legendary history of the ancient kings, Lud and Belin and so on, first became popular, we find it was just in this very interval of which I have been speaking, namely, between the end of the tenth century and the end of the twelfth. I have already said that Billingsgate points to the name of a Saxon family. The people of the eleventh century had forgotten this. The easternmost watergate was naturally assigned therefore to the mythical Belin, and almost as naturally, it was argued, if such a process can be called argument, that if the eastern watergate belonged to Belin, the western one must belong to Lud. I have no means of knowing whether there was any gate here before that time: a small postern may have opened on the steep bank: on the whole I should be inclined to reject even this but for the probability that the outer slope was a Roman military burial place, a reason by no means conclusive.

Before the twelfth century, however, the Fen began to

be dried up. A piece of foreshore extending from the river half-way up the slope towards what is now called Temple Bar began to appear, and the city took possession of it, opened the "Ludgate," and eventually made a bridge to reach it. The abbot naturally objected. A compromise left the abbot the advowson of the new church of St. Bride, but gave up the new colony otherwise to the city, and before the beginning of the thirteenth century the aldermanry, we might almost say the manor, of Joce Fitz Peter,* was formed, and eventually became part of the ward of Farringdon Without. It has been suggested that the three hides held from the abbot by Bainiard at the time of the Domesday Survey were situated here. It is very possible, and we know that they cannot have been at Bayswater, where they are usually placed, because the land there did not belong to the abbot till some years later.†

Meanwhile another invasion of the abbot's land had taken place. The highest ground on the road between Ludgate and St. Mary le Strand is still just outside Temple Bar. Here a ridge or spur of the great central hill of Rugmere,‡ came down towards the Thames. On its eastern side was a little brook, marked still by the name of Milford Lane. At its extremity, on a kind of promontory, long marked by a landing-stage known as the Strand Bridge, were the remains of some Roman buildings of which the masonry of a cistern or bath may still be recognised. These remains are the more interesting because, with the pavement discovered last year in Westminster Abbey, they are the only traces of Roman occupation yet found in the parish. On the hill above the Roman bath was the parish church of St.

* See above, chap. vi.

† See above, chap. xvi.

‡ See below, chap. xxi.

Clement, called “Danes,” either, it is said, on account of the settlement here of a colony of christianised invaders under Sweyn and Canute, or on account of the number of Danes, including Harold Harefoot, who were buried in it. Stow reports a tradition that some marauders were slain here on their way home to Denmark with their booty. No doubt, detached companies of Danes were intercepted and slain in several places ; and colonies of their nation existed all over the country. The churches of St. Olave and of St. Magnus—perhaps the church of St. Bride—are evidences of their strength in London. The mere irruption, so to speak, of this parish, into St. Margaret’s is significant. The Danish soldiers came along the old Roman war path, the “Heere Street,” and poured down from it wherever the firmer ground of a grassy knoll enabled them to reach the Thames and their boats without risk of entanglement among the fens which surrounded the city walls. The little creek and promontory by the Roman bath added to the attractions of the situation. The Aldwych Road—which still as Wych Street survives—may in its name contain an allusion to the ancient settlement, and certainly points the way by which the colonists, whether Roman or Saxon, or Dane, swept down from the ridge to the river. The church is in what was originally the south-eastern corner of the parish which stretches northward to the still open Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields, and westward to the crowded purlieus of Drury Lane. Two outlying districts may mark the settlements of isolated families. One of them is now occupied by the Lyceum Theatre,* the

* Perhaps some historian of the future may hazard the opinion that the name of St. Clement “Danes” refers to the long run of *Hamlet* at this theatre. I have had to notice and refute much wilder guesses than this. It would not be so absurd to hint that “Danes” is a reference to the dene or hollow by Milford Lane.

other on the site of Beaufort House, once the residence of the scientific marquis of Worcester, whose ‘Century of Inventions,’ printed in 1663, contains the germ of the steam engine, is recognised in Beaufort Buildings.

The decree of 1222 formally deprived the abbot of Westminster of this parish. The boundary line no longer runs to the “old stock of St. Andrew’s church” and down the fen to the Thames. It stops at the garden of St. Giles’s Hospital, turns south-eastward, and reaches the Strand near the “church of the Innocents” at the house of one Simon, a weaver.* It does not even touch the Thames. The south side of the Strand is excluded, for a reason which will be apparent further on, and the boundary returns along the king’s highway to Westminster. We have here, then, already, mention of another church, and a few lines further on there is a third. St. Clement Danes, St. Mary-le-Strand, then called the Holy Innocents, and St. Martin’s—away in the open fields by Charing—were all in existence, and St. Margaret’s was rapidly dwindling.

It is common for people who do not know the facts of the case to throw blame upon the city authorities for not extending their “wards without,” so as gradually to take in what is now so often called the metropolitan area. I do not know that the city ever wished to do this. But it is quite easy to see that it could not have been done, and I have given special prominence to this matter of the archbishop’s decree of 1222, because it shows that the lords of manors, not the mayor and commonalty, prevented the extension of the ward system. To make Joce Fitz Peter alderman of that part of Farringdon Without which is comprised in the district west of the Fleet, and Anketel de Auvergne after him, was distinctly

* See ‘Archæologia,’ xxvi. 227.

to invade the rights of the lord of the manor, the abbot of Westminster. In the same way it was not, as we have seen, till the reign of queen Mary that Southwark became a ward without, though in this case it is known that the city ardently desired further jurisdiction, and had begun to take steps more than a century before to that end. But we shall see presently that even on Holborn Hill the city jurisdiction was disputed, and we can have no doubt that every ward without was keenly fought over ; while the device of taking a lease from the lord of the manor had to be resorted to in one case, that of Finsbury.*

In addition to the new parishes carved out of St. Margaret's, some extra-parochial "precincts" had also arisen. When the Blackfriars had laboriously pieced together an estate at the north-western corner of the new ward of Joce Fitz Peter, the munificence of certain eminent citizens and the favour of the king † enabled them to migrate to the spot which has ever since borne their name. The older house, with its gardens, passed into the possession of Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, "a person well affected to the study of the laws," ‡ and he granted it, before his death in 1310, we know not on what terms, to the legal students and professors. They soon by renewable leases obtained virtual possession of the adjoining mansion of the bishop of Chichester; and forced the bishop to remove certain bars at the foot of "Chancellor's Lane," now Chancery Lane, which Sir John le Breton, during one of his wardenships § of the city, had allowed to be set up on account of the constant passage of traffic and the consequently muddy state of the lane. The chief buildings were erected from

* See chap. vii., p. 207.

‡ Herbert's 'Inns of Court,' p. 289.

† Chap. viii.

§ See above, chap. vi.

bricks made in what had been the bishop's "coney garth," the western part of the garden, now almost surrounded by houses. Before the reign of Henry VIII. the society flourished exceedingly, and reckoned among its members many eminent men, including Sir Thomas More. A little later, according to Fuller, Ben Jonson worked at the buildings, "when having a trowel in one hand, he had a book in the other," and it may very well be that he pursued his occupation under the orders of Inigo Jones, who built a curious, but thoroughly gothic chapel on tall arches, which was consecrated in 1623.*

Of all the buildings at Lincoln's Inn, the gateway, now that the chapel has been historically-speaking destroyed, is the most interesting : being late gothic work, somewhat like St. John's Gate and some parts of St. James's Palace. Naturally, it is very obnoxious to improvers, and is even now, it is reported, under condemnation. The new hall,† situated in the northern part of the old "Coney garth," is very conspicuous from Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and is one of the first buildings made under the influence of the gothic revival which can be pronounced a success. The architect was chosen according to the usual English method. Having, we are informed, "given evidence of talents of a superior order in the erection of the noble Doric propylæum at the railway terminus in Euston Square," he was selected as a fit and proper person to erect a hall which was to be as like a piece of genuine Tudor architecture as it could be made. Philip

* It might have been hoped that such a sacred conjunction would have ensured the safety of this chapel : but as I write it is being added to and altered, and that, incredible as it may seem, under the direction, not of an architect, but of a lawyer. An architect would probably have thought himself unworthy to touch the work of Jones, though at Cambridge Scott "improved" the work of Wren.

† There is an account of it in Spilsbury's 'Lincoln's Inn,' p. 88.

Hardwick showed a versatility denied on similar occasions to Barry and to Scott, and abandoning the Grecian style erected in red banded brick the very handsome new hall, on which his initials and the date 1843, prevent the visitor from falling into error.

The smaller inns are almost too numerous to mention: yet I would like to pause a moment over the smallest. Barnard's Inn, Holborn, is entered from the street by a narrow doorway, and the visitor immediately and without notice finds himself transported into another century, and sees what might be the actual scenery of one of De Hooghe's pictures.* Very similar, but on a larger scale, was the old Furnival's Inn, the design of which was reasonably attributed to Inigo Jones.† But it has long perished. There is much to admire in Staples Inn, and there is a refreshment in plunging into its quiet courts from the din and bustle of Holborn Bars, which the tired Londoner can best enjoy. In the whole of this quarter, from Fetter Lane westward to Chancery Lane, and from Holborn to the Rolls, an observant saunterer will find innumerable fragments of ancient glory. Sometimes it is only a heavy cornice. Sometimes it is a red brick pilaster. Sometimes it is only a "shell" hall-door. But such relics are rapidly disappearing before the improving hands of connoisseur treasurers: and one mentions them almost with bated breath.‡

Most of these institutions, however small, have at one period or another claimed exemption from parochial rates. Some of these claims have been successful. In others the parish has triumphed. These exemptions

* There is a good view in Herbert, p. 349.

† See views in Wilkinson, ii. 15; Herbert, p. 324, &c.; and Ireland's 'Picturesque Views,' p. 163.

‡ See chap. viii. for brief notices of the Temple and the Rolls.

must have been very numerous at one time. The district on which Ely Place once stood, made such a claim, as we shall see further on, and besides Lincoln's Inn and the Rolls,* and the Temple, we have the example of the Savoy, of Norton Folgate, of the Artillery Ground, of the Tower, of St. Katherine's, some of them furnished with chapels of their own, and some strictly speaking attached to parishes.† Few of them remain unassailed, but from the strictly historical point of view they are well worthy of notice.

A large open space once existed between the southern side of Lincoln's Inn and the thoroughfare of the Strand. It was early known as Fickett's Field, and by its side close to the city boundary there was a blacksmith's, possibly an armourer's shop. Fickett's Field was the jousting ground of the Templars, and the forge was, no doubt, fully employed for shoeing horses and riveting mail. But the knights and their days passed away. The city took particular interest in this corner of its dominions. The boundary was somewhat indefinite and unprotected. The Inns of Court were a constant cause of strife as to jurisdiction, and so the forge, lest it should fall into other hands, was rented of the king, and is rented still, though the building, whatever it was, disappeared in the blaze of

* It is said that a certain insurance office, erected in Chancery Lane, was found to be neither in London nor in Westminster, but in the Rolls, and had some difficulty with its license.

† The following are “unrepresented extra-parochial places,” in schedule C of the map of the Metropolitan Board of Works:—Charter House, Gray's Inn, the Close of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter (Westminster Abbey), Inner Temple, Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, Staple Inn, and Furnival's Inn. The following “precincts” are represented:—Liberty of Saffron Hill (comprising Hatton Garden, Ely Rents, and Ely Place), Liberty of Glasshouse Yard, Liberty of the Rolls, Precinct of the Savoy, Liberty of Norton Folgate, Liberty of Old Artillery Ground, Liberty of St. Botolph without Aldgate, District of the Tower, and Precinct of St. Katharine.

Wat Tyler's rebellion. Year by year, when the sheriffs went to Westminster to be presented at the court of exchequer, six horseshoes and "sixty-one nails, good number," were presented for the rent of "the forge in the county of Middlesex." Within the past year the law courts have themselves migrated from Westminster to the new buildings provided for them, and, for aught we can tell to the contrary, the court of exchequer, or what answers to it now, may actually sit on this very site.* The whole of Fickett's Fields † having for centuries been covered with a labyrinth consisting of some of the most wretched tenements in London, was once more cleared in 1871, and is now covered anew with the magnificent palace of justice, the most complete result, in these kingdoms, at least, of the movement known as the gothic revival—a movement which has, on the whole, been wonderfully barren of fine buildings, and chiefly distinguished by the destruction of vestiges of antiquity under the false name of restoration. A survey of the main characteristics of the new law courts brings out two principal facts; one is that the architect's design was pruned by the authorities in a manner which would have ruined anything less meritorious; and the other, that lopped and limited as it is, we have here a building worthy of the nation.

The new law courts stand partially within the city boundary, a fact which renders it possible to transfer business to them from the Guildhall as well as from Westminster.

* In accordance with an act termed "The Queen's Remembrancer's Act," passed in 1859, the service of this "jocular tenure" is performed by the city solicitor, who annually attends at the Remembrancer's office for the purpose.

† Among the local names were two Horse Shoe Courts. The new buildings are in St. Clement's parish and the Rolls precinct, and in the parish of St. Dunstan, which is within the city.

The Strand front in the original design was to have had a record tower, which, as the design is in existence, may yet possibly be built and which would have formed a very conspicuous and ornamental feature of the entrance to the city. This and many other parts of Mr. Street's original drawing were removed by superior authority, while the architect himself was wearied by contradictory orders, and by changes of site ; for one minister was anxious to place the new building on the embankment and had a design prepared with that intention. In 1871, however, all obstacles were removed, and the ground of Fickett's Field was cleared. The front is 290 feet in width, its central feature being the gable of the great hall, 140 feet in height. This is recessed from the line of the roadway some 80 feet, a staircase turret being on either side. The hall is superior to that of Westminster in one respect for it is vaulted with stone. It is 230 feet in length, and only 48 in width, so that the appearance of length is greatly enhanced. There are sixteen windows at the sides, each 36 feet high. The eighteen courts all open from the hall. It is greatly to be regretted that when her majesty, in December 1882, opened this magnificent building, the artist who had conceived it was no more.*

I have mentioned in passing the parish of St. Mary, or the Holy Innocents, which in 1222 had already been severed from Westminster. It lay for the most part on

* I remember on one occasion standing with Mr. Street on the site of the porch, before a single stone had been laid. I asked him if he could see the building in his mind's eye. He said he could, distinctly : and pointing to a tall house on the opposite side of the Strand, he added, "That building is fifty-four feet high." Then he turned round, and looked up in the air, "My gable is more than twice as high." The anecdote is trivial but shows how clearly he had thought the matter out. I have no doubt he could have directed the building without any drawn design, as Wren directed St. Paul's.

the south side of the Strand, and comprised a small part of the manor of the Savoy—that part namely, which was outside the immediate precincts of the duke of Lancaster's palace. It is perhaps hardly correct to say that St. Mary's was taken out of St. Margaret's. It would be more correct to describe it as taken out of the Thames. The Savoy was put together by degrees, but the main part of it, there can be no doubt, was at some remote time foreshore. Remote as it was, that time may be fixed within certain limits. The Strand, and consequently the southern side of it, with its steep little lanes leading down to the water's edge, did not exist in 971. In the decree of 1222 the church is mentioned; and in 1246, Henry III. made a grant of the land lying between "la Strande" and the river's edge, to his wife's uncle, Peter of Savoy. The boundaries of the estate which comprised the parish of the Holy Innocents, were defined a little later. "To understand them now we must remember that west of Wych Street, then or soon afterwards known as the old Wych Road or Ald Wych Road, there was an open green with a maypole, and just beyond it a cemetery, which lay rather below the level of the present line of street, and on a part of the site now occupied by Somerset House."* The Innocents' church was very near the present chapel of King's College. It was eventually destroyed by the protector Somerset, to make way for his new palace, and the rapidly increasing population of the parish was left absolutely without any place of worship. After some delay the chapel of St. John in the Savoy was assigned to them, on certain terms, and it was not until 1717, when their new church in the Strand was built, that they ceased to be thus dependent.

* 'Memorials of the Savoy,' p. 11, to which I must refer for a more complete account of the district.

It was owing to their tenancy that the chapel, now a chapel royal, became commonly known as St. Mary's. The parishioners brought with them their old church bell, and took it away again when they left ; and there is no bell in the chapel tower to this day.

The artificial nature of the manor is apparent from the map,* for instead of being in any way conterminous with a parish it is partly in St. Clement's and partly in St. Mary's, resembling in this respect a city ward.† It was in fact made up by purchase as well as by the exercise of the king's not very scrupulous authority. By the bequest of Peter, the first owner, it went to the friars of Mountjoy, who sold it to queen Eleanor for 300 marks. She granted it in 1284 to her son Edmund, earl of Lancaster, and it went eventually to the first wife of John of Gaunt, who was created duke of Lancaster. His son settled the whole of the estates of the duchy on the Sovereign for the time being : and the manor of the Savoy is still the property of her majesty.

The house was burnt by Wat Tyler's followers, and never rebuilt : and the ground was made over by Henry VIII. to a hospital founded under his father's will and completed in 1517. But it never prospered. The estates were given away by Edward VI. to Bridewell, resumed by queen Mary, and finally frittered away by carelessness and mismanagement, until, in 1702, lord keeper Wright, by what authority I know not, dissolved and suppressed it finally. George III. made the chapel "royal," and it has been kept in good repair, a fire in 1864, by which the old roof was destroyed, having led to its thorough and satisfactory restoration. It is interesting apart from its associations as the only old church between

* Memorials, p. 230.

† See Appendix E.

St. Margaret's and St. Olave's, Hart Street, with the exception of the renovated chapel of the Temple.

St. Mary-le-Strand is one of the prettiest of Gibbs's works. It is wholly wanting in dignity, and we cannot but wish the tower had been to one side, as it presents an extremely formal appearance facing the street. It has, of course, been objected to the design of the church that seeming outside to consist of two storeys, there is but one within : an objection which applies equally to Whitehall chapel and many other buildings in the style, including St. Paul's.

The front of Somerset House has been admired by many good judges of architecture. It is in part a copy of the old building which was designed by Inigo Jones : but both here, and on the south front towards Lancaster place, the effect is much marred by two storeys of windows showing through one order of columns or pilasters. Every one must agree that the river front is not quite worthy of its conspicuous situation. Sir William Chambers was not equal to the task he undertook. The almost adjoining Adelphi, called after the brothers Adam, is much better, though by no means so magnificent either in size or costliness. The "dark arches" of the Adelphi mark the site of old streets, some of which remain near them but at a lower level than that of Salisbury Street and Adam Street.

There is no part of London in which the local names are more significant than the Strand. They tell of the former existence of a row of river-side palaces, of which Somerset House only can be said in any sense to remain, and of which the Savoy chapel is the only contemporary relic. At first the great houses belonged to bishops. Nine are said to have lived in the Strand at one time, but very few are commemorated by street names. The Outer Temple

was in the reign of Elizabeth the town house of the earl of Essex, and both Devereux Court, and Essex Street remain. But previously it had been the house, or one of the houses of the bishop of Exeter.* The adjoining site was occupied by the bishops of Bath, whose rights were usurped by Seymour, the brother of the protector Somerset. At his tragical death, Henry Fitz Alan, earl of Arundel, bought it for £41 6s. 8d., and in 1579 it devolved on the Howard family, and the land has belonged, like Arundel Castle itself, to the dukes of Norfolk ever since. Their name and titles define the locality of their estate. The vast area of Somerset House covers the site of the residences of the bishops of Chester and of Worcester, as well as of the church and churchyard already mentioned, while the wall of the south front, but very little more, is in the precinct of the Savoy. The site of Beaufort House has already been noticed. Here the bishops of Carlisle had a house, spoken of in some of the documents connected with the Savoy, which is described as lying between the houses of this bishop, to the westward, and of the bishop of Worcester to the eastward. The bishops of Llandaff also lived in the Strand and on the Savoy estate, but I have failed to identify the place with certainty. It may have been the small plot on the north side which is now marked by Exeter Hall, and by Burleigh Street, where the great lord Burleigh lived in the reign of James I. It was close to the house of the junior branch of the Cecil family, and Cecil Street with Salisbury Street are on the ground, which still belongs to lord Salisbury. The houses at the lower end of Salisbury Street were built and decorated by Payne or the Adams,

* See above, chap. ix. Bishop Stapleton seems to have had two town houses, one here and one in Old Dean's Lane, now Warwick Lane, Newgate.

and some of the most charming rooms in London are in the last house on the right-hand side, now an hotel. This street is supported like the adjacent Adelphi on arches, and a miserable village of tumble-down houses remains between it and the Embankment gardens, at a lower level. The boundary between the Savoy and St. Martin's passes down the centre of Cecil Street. Before houses covered the spot a little brook ran here into the Thames, and no doubt marked the boundary. The roadway of the Strand crossed it by the Ivy Bridge.*

Of the ancient connection of the convent of Westminster with this part of London the most prominent modern evidence is afforded by the land on the slope north of the manor of the Savoy. Here a large district is still known as Covent Garden.† Long Acre was once the Seven Acres, and in 1612 a long pathway is mentioned as traversing them. A little parish, one of the smallest in London, lies between Long Acre and the Strand. The church of St. Paul is often, but rather vaguely said to have been the earliest specially built for Protestant worship. The parish was divided from St. Martin's by the first act of a local nature passed after the accession of Charles II. The whole parish belonged to the Russell family, having been granted in 1552 to John, earl of Bedford, whose descendant the duke of Bedford owns it now. Southampton Street marks the site of their house of residence, but until it was built they had the old house of the bishop of Carlisle, at the opposite side of the Strand, adjoining the Savoy. Francis, fourth

* Described as Ulebrig in some of the Savoy records. "Ule" is Anglo-Saxon for "owl," which in itself tells a tale of the rural state of the district when the roadway was first made.

† There was another Covent Garden at Bishopsgate, probably that of St. Helen's priory.

earl, laid out 4500*l.* in building the church, and is said * to have told Inigo Jones he wished for nothing "much better than a barn." "Well then," said Jones, "you shall have the handsomest barn in the world." The church was of brick with a tiled roof, and must have differed much in appearance from the present church, which was built by Hardwick, after a fire in 1795. The general lines of the old design were followed, and with the help of a little imagination we can realise its original features.† "It is built in the Tuscan order as described by Vitruvius," says Brayley, who adds that "it may be regarded as the most complete specimen of that order in the world, as no ancient building of the kind is now remaining." The portico faces the flower market, and is one of the best known features of London: and it has often been cited as an example of the fact "that it is taste and not expense, which is the parent of beauty." The knowledge, or genius, or calculation by which Jones contrived even in such a plain building to obtain a picturesque effect is certainly a strong proof of the folly of architects who imagine that any amount of showy carving, or granite columns, will form a substitute for the study of proportion and the expenditure, not of money, but of thought. The rest of the square was also originally designed by Jones, of whose work but slight traces remain. He lived it is said close by in Chandos Street, and a modernised house there has still portions of a magnificently carved staircase which may well have been designed by him.

I have abandoned for a moment the chronological arrangement in order to place Covent Garden in its

* By Horace Walpole: see Cunningham, ii. 638.

† There is a very complete account of both parish and church in Britton and Pugin's 'Edifices,' i. 107, written by E. W. Brayley.

topographical position with respect to the Strand. St. Paul's, as I have said, was taken out of St. Martin's. We have now to see how it was that the ground was in St. Martin's and not in St. Margaret's. When, in the oft-mentioned year 1222, the archbishop pronounced his award in the matter of the Westminster boundaries, he specially excepted a church and cemetery of St. Martin.* No parish appears to have been attached to it. A century later a vicar is mentioned. Before the end of the fourteenth century "the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields is described by name as being in the franchise of Westminster." It is not easy to decide what were its boundaries at this period, but it probably included what are now the separate parishes of St. James and St. George, while St. Anne, Soho, remained to St. Margaret's. When Henry VIII. had annexed St. James's Park to his new palace,† he issued a patent, dated in 1542, by which he transferred to St. Martin's all the district which remained to Westminster north and west of Whitehall.‡ He found it inconvenient that funerals should pass through the palace to the churchyard of St. Margaret's. Thenceforth a line was drawn at the northern gate of Whitehall, and only what lay to the south of it was to be included in St. Margaret's. Thus the old parish was once more diminished, but St. Martin's remains, like St. Clement's, and the other divisions, part of Westminster as respects parliamentary elections. In 1680 it was considered "the greatest cure in England," and Richard Baxter is reported to have complained that it

* 'St. Martin's in the Fields,' by W. G. Humphry, B.D., vicar of the parish.

† See next chapter.

‡ This royal decree was read at the trial about the rates of St. Margaret's in 1833, reported by Walsh and printed by Nicholls in 1834.

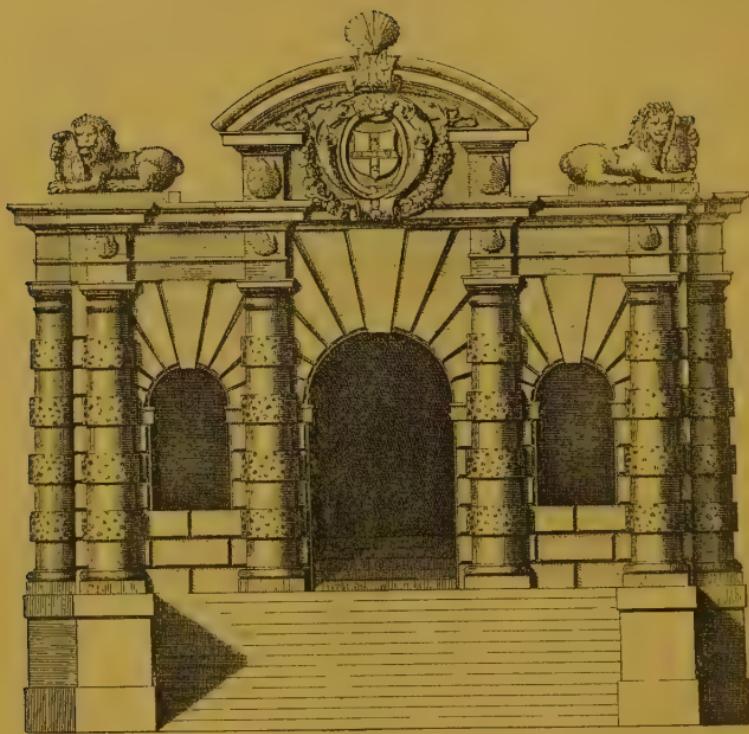
contained forty thousand people more than could be accommodated in its church. In 1684 St. James's, Westminster—which we generally style St. James's, Piccadilly,—was taken out of it. Four years later St. Anne's, Soho, was also separated, and when in 1725 Sir Richard Grosvenor built his new quarter about Grosvenor Square, St. George's was also divided from it.

St. Martin's may be looked upon as the centre of modern London. Charing Cross is in the parish, in fact one of the earliest notices of the church describes it as “*juxta Charring*”; this was in the reign of Edward I., who having been informed that treasure was buried in St. Martin's desired a search to be made for it. The result is unknown.* Edward erected Charing Cross, which was completed in 1296, and cost what must then have been thought a large sum, namely 450*l.* The statues were by an artist who is described as Alexander the Imaginator, of Abingdon.†

The site of the Eleanor Cross is marked by Le Sœur's fine statue of king Charles I., on a pedestal by Grinling Gibbons. Here the regicides were put to death with every detail of cruelty in 1660, and Pepys has recorded that it was his chance “to see the king beheaded at Whitehall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the king at Charing Cross.” This expression, “in revenge,” is curious as showing the ideas of the objects of punishment then current. At this time Charing Cross was a narrow spot where three streets met. Where the Nelson Column stands now there was a row of houses,

* Humphry, p. 10. This mention of “Charring” is the more interesting as this was the king who erected the cross. It is one of the three “*ings*” of Middlesex. See above, chap. xv. p. 2.

† ‘Memorials of queen Eleanor,’ by John Abel. Mr. Humphry puts the cost at 650*l.*



YORK GATE.

To face p. 87, Vol. II.

and the king's mews behind. On the south side stood Northumberland House, destroyed without much reason, but at an enormous cost, in 1874, the last of the great riverside palaces. York House, which had been just within the parish boundary, and next to Salisbury House, was the residence of those archbishops of York who succeeded Wolsey, having been bought for them, instead of an inconvenient house in Southwark, given by queen Mary. But only one archbishop seems to have actually lived in it, Heath, the first who held it, and who was Mary's chancellor. It became a kind of official residence for chancellors, several of whom, and keepers of the great seal, rented it successively,* and here the great Francis Bacon was born. The first duke of Buckingham persuaded James I. to give the archbishop other lands for York House, and having obtained possession began to build a new palace for himself. It never proceeded beyond the water gate, which was designed by Inigo Jones, and carved by Nicholas Stone, and which still remains in its old place, showing both where York House was, and the old level, before the embankment was made.† It bears his badge of an anchor, as lord high admiral. A temporary house was inhabited by the duke and his successor, and was furnished in a style which astonished contemporary writers.

Gibbs has gained more fame by St. Martin's church than by any other building he erected. It has one serious fault at least. The steeple rises from the portico, which, massive as it is, appears crushed in consequence.

* Cunningham enumerates the lord keeper Bacon; the lord chancellor Bacon, his son; the lord keeper Pickering; and the lord chancellor Egerton.

† I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. John Ward, F.S.A., for the accompanying print, reduced from that in Campbell's 'Vitruvius Britannicus.'

The interior, which is very closely imitated in its chief features from Wren's St. James's, is extremely fine, and in spite of large galleries gives the visitor an impression of space very unusual in a London church. It has been well observed * that neither Gibbs nor his contemporary Hawksmoor understood the value of the mathematical proportion so much insisted upon by Wren. One consequence is here very apparent, for the east end, although it resembles more than one of Sir Christopher's, is yet a failure, heavy and dull, only for want of better proportions. To prove this we have only to remember St. Lawrence, Jewry. The portico is magnificent, and its splendid effect is set off to great advantage by the meanness of the neighbouring National Gallery. The church was consecrated in 1726, having cost the parishioners more than 36,000*l.* We can imagine Sir Christopher Wren, who was still alive, looking on and thinking what he might have done with such a sum of money at St. Stephen's or St. Mary-le-Bow, in the city, or at St. James's, in Piccadilly.

Of the National Gallery as a building, the less said is the better.† It is impossible to regard it as permanent. A time must come when we shall be ashamed to see it any longer. It was unfortunate for Wilkins that he was chosen to design it. His powers as an architect were remarkable. His design for the University of London in Gower Street has been only partially carried out, but we can judge of him by St. George's Hall, at Liverpool, one of the most beautiful modern buildings in Europe. At Trafalgar Square he was crippled by conditions incompatible with the possibility of doing anything good.

* Gwilt in 'Edifices,' i. 44.

† I have waded through an appalling pile of pamphlets on the subject, without much result.

"The money allotted to the purpose was scarcely one-half of what was necessary; he was ordered to take and use the pillars of the portico of Carlton House; to set back the wings so as not to hide St. Martin's church; and lastly to allow two thoroughfares through it."* No wonder, then, that it is a miserable performance; and poor Wilkins, who could have done so much better and knew it, died of the ridicule his work excited.

If Englishmen have cause to feel ashamed of the exterior of the National Gallery, which has not been improved of late years by some incongruous additions, they have every reason to be proud of its contents. The rate of acquisition is amazing. It goes on by leaps and bounds. The number of pictures has doubled in twenty years, and much more than doubled in value. In the very beginnings of things we bought the Angerstein collection, consisting of thirty-eight pictures, several of them very poor, especially those which bore the greatest names, for 57,000*l.*, and lodged them in a house now absorbed by the War Office in Pall Mall. That was in 1824. Ten years later the first trustees were appointed, and six years were spent in the usual recriminations in which we always indulge on these occasions, and in building in Trafalgar Square. The number of pictures had meanwhile risen, partly by purchases, partly by the munificent gift of Sir George Beaumont, partly by bequests, to one hundred and sixty-six. Progress was slow till 1843, when only twenty more pictures had been added, but a few years later the Vernon collection was bequeathed, and doubled the numbers, or would have done so had it been possible to receive the new pictures in the old gallery. They were exhibited first at Marlborough House, and afterwards for many years at South

* Fergusson, 'Modern Architecture,' 304.

Kensington. In 1856 Turner's paintings and water-colour sketches were bequeathed. Ten years later the number of works exhibited amounted to 750, and the purchase of the Garvagh Raffaelle for 9000*l.* was thought to have exhausted the buying power of the trustees for some time to come. But a much more astonishing, if scarcely so satisfactory a bargain was completed in 1866, when we gave 7000*l.* for the very doubtful picture of "Christ Blessing Little Children," attributed to Rembrandt. Sir Charles Eastlake's early Italian pictures were added in the following year, under an old arrangement; but very little else was bought until the autumn of 1868, when we acquired one of the most remarkable works in the gallery. We already possessed, as the best picture in the Angerstein Collection, the magnificent Sebastian del Piombo of the "Raising of Lazarus," for which Michael Angelo is known to have made the design, and on which he probably worked himself. But the new purchase professed to be an actual "holograph," so to speak, of the great Florentine—unfinished, it is true, but complete in composition, and most instructive in every way. At first there was no space to hang this treasure of art, and it was not exhibited publicly till the critics, and many besides, had seen it in private. The doubtful Rembrandt had a good pedigree, or it could never have fetched 7000*l.*; the undoubted Michael Angelo had comparatively no pedigree, and was only reckoned worth 2000*l.*, but the popular verdict leaves little question as to which of the two is best worth the higher sum. In 1869 the National Gallery obtained the old rooms of the Royal Academy at the southern end of the building, and signalised the occasion by the purchase of De Hooge's "Courtyard in Holland" for 1722*l.*, a price which no one grudged when once the picture had been

seen, and by reclaiming, after some delay, the Vernon bequest from South Kensington. Many people, however, did grudge the purchase in the following year of the Peel Gallery, as it gave us only a few new names, and added but little to the completeness of the Collection. But many of the Dutch pictures it contained were masterpieces in their way. The "Avenue at Middelharnis" by Hobbema, and the "Velvet Hat" by Rubens, became popular favourites at once. The Peel Gallery consisted of seventy-seven pictures and some drawings, and the price came to nearly a thousand guineas each, a high average; but five years later we received a still larger number of fine works for nothing by the bequest of Mr. Wynn Ellis. His pictures do not reach the same high average as those of Sir Robert Peel, and some of the best had no pedigrees; but the strange Van Romerswale—at first attributed to Quentin Matsys, till the true artist's name was found inscribed on one of the parchments represented—and some landscapes by Claude, Ruysdael, and De Koninck, are a distinct gain. They were among the new pictures exhibited when the public were first admitted to the galleries built by Mr. Barry behind the eastern end of the old front. As at the first foundation of the building, much controversy among artists and architects preceded the completion of this great improvement; and, though few were enthusiastic as to the beauty of the new galleries, all were astonished at the rapidity with which they were filled, and at the enhanced value of pictures properly arranged and lighted, and hung where they were visible to the naked eye.

During the last few years many excellent works have been obtained by purchase. Lord Beaconsfield took a keen interest in the improvement of the collection, and several fine early Italian works were added during his

premiership. But Mr. Gladstone's government has not been far behind, and during the past year the sale of the Hamilton gallery gave an opportunity which was eagerly seized. The new acquisitions, including those from Hamilton Palace, assuredly raise our National Gallery to a very high level indeed. We have not the Titians of Madrid, nor the Rubenses of the Louvre; we have not the Memlings of Bruges, nor the Van Eycks of Ghent. But we have some of the best examples of all these artists—Titian's "Ariosto," Rubens's "Château de Stein," Memling's "Holy Family," Van Eyck's "Arnolfini," for example, only to name a few; we have Raffaelles, Murillos, Solarios, Rembrandts, Hobbemas, Claudes, and, in short, all the great masters, with one conspicuous exception, which is, however, temporarily supplied by the duke of Norfolk's generous loan of Holbein's "Duchess of Milan." This was the lady of whom it is said that when Henry VIII. proposed to marry her, she replied that unfortunately she had only one head. That nevertheless she dallied with the offer is apparent from the existence in England of this picture, brought over by Henry's ambassador, and another at Windsor Castle.*

Among recent purchases are the Suffolk Leonardo which excellent judges prefer to the repetition of the same subject in the Louvre; examples from the Hamilton collection of Botticelli, Velasquez, Pontormo, Signorelli, Mantegna, and other great artists; together with the five little pictures of a lesser genius, Gonsalez Coques, which Mr. Burton recently obtained in Belgium. As a representative collection, therefore, the National Gallery is second to no other; and it is impossible not to look with pride on the successful efforts of a single generation to form in England a museum of art such as may compare

* See Mr. Scharf's paper on the subject in 'Archæologia,' xl. 106.

with any other in Europe, even with some which are the result of long centuries of growth.

At some not very distant day the barracks which occupy so much space at the back of the gallery must be removed, and an adequate building erected to house our treasures. The prints and drawings by great masters, of which we have a collection quite worthy of our pictures, should be brought and exhibited near the other works of the same artists. Designs have been made on several occasions, but they have never secured the approval of the critics. The fact is we have no Wren or Burlington, no Wilkins, not even a Gibbs among us now, and it will be better to wait a little longer rather than have a National Gallery in the style of the additions to Burlington House, or the stuccoed front of Buckingham Palace.

The rapid growth of buildings in the parish gave serious cause of uneasiness to the authorities. In 1634 a commission was appointed which reported that a man named Moor had built without license a row of no less than forty-two houses close to St. Martin's church. He was fined a thousand pounds, and the houses were pulled down by the sheriffs. Lord Bedford had special leave to build round Covent Garden, but did not avail himself of it at first, on account of the strong public feeling on the subject, a feeling stimulated by the ravages of the plague.* The western roads were beginning to be lined with houses. Dwellings for the families of the officials and menials of the court were erected in the mews, which occupied what is now the open space of Trafalgar Square. At the same time a number of houses were

* See above, chap. xi., and Southey's 'Common Place Book' in which there are numerous extracts relating to the extension of building in the suburbs.

demolished in Piccadilly, by order of the committee sitting in the Star Chamber, on the ground that they fouled the water of the stream which, as we have seen, crossed the road into the Green Park, and supplied Whitehall. In the house of commons a few years later blame was thrown upon the city for refusing its freedom even "to rare artists," who were thereby driven to the western suburbs. But London was just recovering from the successive shocks of the plague and the fire, over-crowding was so much dreaded that the means taken to prevent it only added to the danger, and sanitary science was confined to empiricism and superstitious observances.

St. James's, Piccadilly, was at last found to be a necessity. No efforts could stop the tide of building. Soho was already crowded and fashionable: but I postpone a notice of it to keep if possible to the chronological order in which the "hamlets" of Westminster were separated from the mother church.* The great western road may be said to have commenced with Wych Street, but the newly-built quarter of Covent Garden interrupted it, and the line of highway of which Piccadilly is the chief part, only becomes direct at the eastern end of Cranbourn Street where Long Acre and St. Martin's Lane meet. The increase of population took place at first about the palace of St. James's and Pall Mall. The square was built in 1665 and at once became, as it still continues, a centre of fashion, which has perhaps never been so constant to any other site. "Fashionable neighbourhoods are continually changing, but this square is an exception to the rule, as it has been for two centuries one of the most aristocratical places in London,"

* The history of the parish of St. James is fully detailed in Mr. Wheatley's entertaining volume 'Round about Piccadilly and Pall Mall.'

says Mr. Wheatley.* The fields on which the new quarter was laid out immediately after the restoration of Charles II. were the leasehold property of Henry Jermyn, earl of St. Albans, who is always supposed to have been the second husband of queen Henrietta Maria. The square was at first called the Piazza, and had a large pond in the centre. The first tenants of the surrounding houses were all people of rank except two of the king's mistresses.† The act of parliament by virtue of which the parish was separated from St. Martin's, was passed in 1685, and the church was consecrated in July by Compton, bishop of London. Wren was the architect and as but little money—only 7000*l.*, at first—was forthcoming he, as usual with him, spent as much as possible in one direction. Wren seems to have thought it best, and there is much to be said for his view, that in church building some part of the structure should be made as complete as possible, even though, through lack of funds the other parts might suffer. He acted on this principle at St. Mary-le-Bow, and St. Stephen's Wallbrook, as well as in many other city churches. At St. James's he lavished all his small resources on the interior, and succeeded in producing one of the most beautiful, convenient and satisfactory places of worship in London. Gibbs, in rebuilding St. Martin's, could not improve upon the design of St. James's. Wren's own account will show his opinions :—"I can hardly think it practicable to make a single room so spacious, with pews and galleries, as to hold above two thousand persons, and all to hear the service, and both to hear distinctly and see the preacher. I endeavoured to effect this in building the parish church of St. James, Westminster, which I presume is the most spacious with these qualifications that hath yet been built ; and yet at a solemn time, when

* P. 355.

† See lists in Cunningham, i. 440.

the church was much crowded, I could not discern from a gallery that two thousand were present. In this church I mention, though very broad, and the nave arched, yet as there are no walls of a second order, nor lanterns, nor buttresses, but the whole roof rests upon the pillars, as do also the galleries ; I think it may be found beautiful and convenient, and as such the cheapest of any form I could invent.”* Mr. Fergusson says St. James’s is after St. Stephen’s Wallbrook, Wren’s most successful interior.

It does not come within the scope of this book to describe in detail the interesting features of this most interesting district. It is a curious fact that neither St. James’s Palace nor St. James’s Park is within the parish boundary, but St. James’s Street with its modern clubs and shops, the time-worn towers of Henry VIII.’s palace looking out on them from beyond the mists of three hundred and fifty years ; Marlborough and Schomberg Houses, with memories alternately warlike and artistic ; Regent Street and the ingenious quadrant, or fourth part of a circle, with which Nash connected two thoroughfares, and created one of the few architectural street effects in London ; the tall houses of Carlton Terrace, with the duke of York’s column and glimpses of the park and the Westminster towers beyond, another happy inspiration, which like the quadrant deserved a better fate than to be made of plaster and paint ; Burlington Gardens and Savile Row, the home till lately of classical architecture of the best type, of which only Vardy’s Uxbridge House †

* ‘Parentalia,’ p. 320, quoted by Mr. Wheatley, p. 103. I remember to have attended service in St. James’s on one occasion when the Rev. Henry White preached, and both Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone were present with at least 1998 other people : and all could see and hear.

† Now the western branch of the Bank of England ; judiciously added to lately. General Wade’s house faced into Old Burlington Street, but is completely altered and is now a school.

remains ; the Albany, where at the Savile Row end and in the topmost storey, Macaulay wrote the main part of his ‘History’ ; all these things and more might well detain my pen. But many books have been written about them and I could add nothing to make it worth while to pause in the task of tracing the history of Westminster.

As early as 1675 it had been found necessary by the authorities of St. Martin’s to make special arrangements for the collection of their rates in Soho, a district the name of which, like that of Piccadilly, is involved in obscurity. Piccadilly may be derived from the name of a house of entertainment nearly on the site of the modern Criterion : but this is only putting the difficulty a step further back. Pimlico, another strange name in the parish of St. Margaret, may be accounted for by the existence of a similarly named place in the West Indies, whence timber was imported. But Soho has entirely baffled inquirers. Cunningham quotes the rate books of St. Martin’s to show that in 1636 people were living “at the brick kilns near Sohoe.” In 1660 this spelling is reversed in the parish register, where the burial is recorded of a “child from Soeho.”

Although a church on the site of St. Ann’s was in existence as a chapel of ease from 1679 it was not until the beginning of the reign of James II. that the present church was built ; and on its consecration the parish was formally separated in 1686. The old names of the Soho fields are preserved by Malcolm in noticing the grant of a lease from queen Henrietta Maria, by leave of her son, to lord St. Albans, who already, as we have seen, held St. James’s. They were Bunche’s Close, Coleman-hedge Field, and Doghouse Field, otherwise Brown’s Close. Kemp’s Field, where there had been a chapel for French

refugees, was chosen as the site of the church. The Pest Field which lord Craven generously provided against the possible outbreak of another plague,* lay to the east of Carnaby Street. Crown Street was Hog Lane. Wardour Street was Old Soho. Princes Street was Hedge Lane.

The church of St. Anne incurs much ridicule from the very strange appearance of its steeple. "A monstrous copper globe, elevated within a few feet of the summit, contains the dial plates for the clock."† It was built at the end of the last century. The interior of the church is by no means what might be expected from the distant view of the tower, on the western face of which, and plainly visible from Princes Street—now incorporated with Wardour Street—is the tablet Horace Walpole put up, with his own epigram on it, to the memory of Theodore, king of Corsica, who died in 1756, and was buried at the expense of an oilman named Wright.

Soho Square, which contains about three acres, was for a while very fashionable, and only began to decline a hundred years ago. Few remember the name of Mrs. Theresa Cornelys. Yet she was once a central figure in the London world of fashion, which she left for a more retired sphere in 1785. Her house is now occupied by Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell, whose manufactory is close by, and fumes of strawberry jam, raspberry vinegar, and mixed pickles alternately pervade the neighbourhood. Her ball room is a chapel. It used to be the headquarters of extravagance and strange apparel. At one of her masquerades the beautiful daughter of a peer wore the costume of an Indian princess, three black girls bearing her train, a canopy held over her head by two negro boys, and her dress covered with jewels worth a

* See below, chap. xxi.

† Malcolm, ii. 344.

hundred thousand pounds. It was at another that Adam was to be seen in flesh-coloured tights and an apron of artificial fig-leaves, in company with the duchess of Bolton as Diana. Death in a white shroud carried about his coffin and epitaph. The duke of Gloucester wore an old English costume with a star on his cloak, and the malicious said he was "disguised as a gentleman." All this pageantry passed through Mrs. Cornelys' rooms, yet before many years had gone by she was earning her living by selling asses' milk at Knightsbridge. Even this employment failed her eventually, and in 1797 she died in the Fleet Prison, forming schemes for retrieving her broken fortunes to the last.

Long before Mrs. Cornelys was thought of, King's Square in Soho was connected with the fortunes of another and more famous adventurer. James, duke of Montrose and Buccleugh, lived on the south side, where there is now a hospital for women. Bateman's Buildings is on the site of his garden. The tottering statue of his father in the centre of the square was the only thing left that could have seen him here, and it also has disappeared. He gave "Soho" as his watchword the night before Sedgmoor, but he never saw his old home again.

It is more pleasant to recall some later memories : for there is still an old-world air about the place. If you dive down into the streets and lanes you see everywhere evidences of the greatness of former occupants. If a street door is open there is a vision of carved oak paneling, of fretted ceilings, of frescoed walls, of inlaid floors. Squalid as are some of the tenements, their inhabitants do not need to dream that they dwell in marble halls. Once on a time even Seven Dials was fashionable. Here and there, at the corners, a little bit of the quaint style now in vogue as queen Anne's allures the unwary

passenger into a noisome alley, and Soho can boast of fully as many smells as Cologne. The paradoxes in which facts and statistics are so often connected may receive another example from this densely populated and still more densely perfumed region, for it has been found that children survive the struggles of infancy better in Soho than in many a high and airy country parish. Paintings by Sir James Thornhill and Angelica Kauffman are to be seen in some of the houses. Modern cast-iron railings may stand abashed before the finely-wrought work which incloses some of the filthiest areas. There are mantelpieces in marble, heavy with Corinthian columns, and elaborate entablatures in many an upper chamber let at so much a week. Visitors to the House of Mercy at the corner of Greek Street have an uncovenanted reward for their charity in seeing how the great alderman Beckford was lodged when he made the speech now inscribed on his monument in Guildhall.* Art still reigns in the house opposite, where the Royal Academy held its infant meetings, and it was close by, at the corner of Compton Street, that Johnson and Boswell, Reynolds and Burke, kept their literary evenings, and were derided by Goldsmith. The more purely scientific associations of the place are almost equally remarkable. On the south side of the square, in the corner near Frith Street, Sir Joseph Banks and Mr. Payne Knight successively flourished, and the Linnæan Society had here its headquarters before it was promoted to Burlington House. Since the whole of Soho was more or less fashionable, it is nothing remarkable to find Evelyn and Burnet and Dryden and Nell Gwyn residing within its bounds; but there is some interest in the lying in state there of Sir Clodesley Shovel, when his

* See above, chap. xiv.

body, recovered from the sea at Scilly, was on its way to Westminster Abbey. No doubt an effigy surmounted the pall, and the illustrious foundling appeared in the Roman armour and the full-bottomed wig in which he reposes upon his monument. Half the sites of curious scenes in Soho, half the residences of historical characters, have, however, been left without identification.

We now come to the most important portion of the old abbey manor, St. George's, Hanover Square, the greater part of which, extensive as it is, belongs to a single estate, that of the duke of Westminster. It comprises the chief part of the identical manor of Eia which, as we saw in the last chapter, was given by Geoffrey Mandeville to the abbey. Eia, in Domesday, is said to have consisted of ten hides. The modern parish comprises, in round numbers, nearly 900 acres, so that the hides in question must have been 90 acres, or nearly, each, but there was a good deal of waste marshy land, and the size of the hide may be considerably reduced. The name of Eybury, or Ebury, would appear to denote that part of the manor which lay around the principal residence of the lord of the manor, which was almost certainly somewhere near Grosvenor Square. This portion, which stretches from the river's bank northward along the Tyburn to the Uxbridge Road and Oxford Street, forms the Grosvenor estate. A second portion, the sub-manor of Neate, or Neyte, is doubtless that part of Kensington Gardens and the adjoining land which is still in the parish of St. Margaret. A third portion, Hyde, gives its name to Hyde Park.*

There is very great difficulty in unravelling the history of this part of the possessions of St. Peter's abbey. The boundaries, where there was much open and common

* See next chapter.

land, were not very clearly fixed. The abbot was lord of all, and in case of difficulty there could be no doubt of his ownership. He appears to have leased away Ebury, or a considerable part of it. A man named Barber, who was hanged in 1345 for murdering his brother, appears to have held it. A dispute arose as to the abbot's right to seize the land, and though no decision has been reported, we cannot hesitate to conclude that the abbot succeeded in his claim. No doubt, too, he leased it away again: and after the suppression it was in the hands of one Whashe.* It consisted of a farm of 430 acres, for which he paid 21*l.* a year, and he and his tenants appear from a complaint that was made against them to queen Elizabeth, to have inclosed the adjoining open and waste lands, including some in which the parish had an interest. These Lamas lands, as they were called, cannot now be identified. Some of them seem to have been near the Haymarket, and Leicester Square is described as being built on inclosed Lamas lands. But Ebury, Euberry, or Eybury was "towards Chelsea," and comprised all that part of the Grosvenor estate which lies south of the great west road from Hyde Park Corner, including Belgrave Square and Pimlico. A little later the farm and some other holdings came into the possession of a member of an obscure family named Davies. How he obtained them does not appear, but doubtless in much the same way as Hobson obtained the two manors of Tyburn and Lylleston on the other side of Oxford Street.† Davies, however, unlike Hobson, knew how to keep as well as to obtain a good estate. He, or his son, Alexander, had an only daughter, Mary. In 1676 Miss Mary Davies was married, at St. Clement

* Cunningham, i. 288.

† See below, chap. xxi.

Danes, to Sir Thomas Grosvenor, a Cheshire baronet of moderate fortune.

Another family of Davies, or the same, had about the same time that part of the parish on which the two Audley Streets were afterwards built. "Rich Audley," as he was called, who began the world with 200*l.* and died worth 400,000*l.*,* in 1662 left his land to his grand-nephew Sir Thomas Davies, who was lord mayor in 1677, a member of the drapers' company, and a bookseller by trade. He had four sons, but there is no Alexander amongst them. It would, however, be difficult to affirm that there is no connection between the families, or that Davies Street is called after the one or the other. The two estates are now in the same hands, but no record has been published as to how the union came about. In fact, considering the enormous value of the Grosvenor estate it is curious to remark that it has never found a historian, and that, though probably there are deeds in abundance existing on the subject, we do not know how it came to Alexander Davies and Hugh Audley.

In 1725 we find Sir Richard Grosvenor, the elder son of Mary Davies, in possession of the whole estate. In July of that year the land had been laid out and planned, and at a "splendid entertainment" Sir Richard assembled his intending tenants and named the new streets and squares. Grosvenor Square had been partly built as early as 1716: but covering the whole estate with houses was a work of time. The names chosen are easily accounted for: Brook Street is called after the Tyburn which forms the eastern boundary of the estate. Mount

* Cunningham, and Le Neve's 'Knights,' Harl. Soc. p. 212. There are several other Davies families in Le Neve and in the London Visitations, but "Alexander" does not occur as a name in any of them.

Street obliterated "Oliver's Mount," one of the forts erected by the parliament in 1642.* Grosvenor, Davies and Audley Streets speak for themselves, as does Park Street.† The rectangularity of the Grosvenor estate distinguishes it on the map, and the line of the brook is clearly marked by the irregular course of South Molton Lane, Avery Row, Bruton Mews and Bolton Row.

But this great estate occupied less than half the lands of the Davies inheritance. The part south of Hyde Park Corner, though it was not so soon built over, is now even more valuable. George III. intended to have increased the gardens of Buckingham Palace westward and had even arranged with Sir Richard's nephew and successor, the first lord Grosvenor, to buy the ground on which Grosvenor Place now stands. But lord Grenville held the purse strings and the king's wishes were thwarted. The ground, like that indeed within the palace inclosure still, was low and damp. We have seen that here lay Pollenstock and Bulunga Fen and the "eald dic" or dyke of Edgar's charter. But lord Grosvenor enlisted the services of Mr. Cubitt. In 1826 he obtained special powers by act of parliament. The site was drained, levelled, laid out in roads and streets and squares, which, considering the unfavourable reputation of the place previously, were taken up eagerly by people of the first fashion. Belgravia, as it is often called, rivals even the older Grosvenor district, in its popularity with the highest classes, and the erection, on the failure of the first building leases, of the magnificent houses of Grosvenor Place, each of them a palace, has assisted to keep this part of the estate in the favour of people who can afford to be so expensively housed. Soon a third quarter arose on the

* See chapter xi. There is an Oliver's Mount in Richmond Park.

† For Hyde Park see next chapter.

Westminster lands, and for a brief period Pimlico was as fashionable as Kensington is now. It very speedily declined, however, though one or two of the larger squares have continued to flourish. The local names almost all allude to the real or supposed history of the Grosvenor family, to the county and city of Chester, to Hugh Lupus, to Eccleston and Belgrave in Cheshire, to Eaton Hall and Halkin Castle. Strange to say we do not find a single allusion to the heiress who brought the estate into the Grosvenor family.

The mansion by the river side continued to be inhabited until Gloucester House in Grosvenor Street fell vacant by the death of the younger brother of George III. It soon after became Grosvenor House, was greatly enlarged and improved, and a fine screen placed between it and the street. It is still somewhat irregular, but a fine addition has recently been made to its western end. The removal of an adjoining house in which lady Palmerston passed her declining years, has opened a view from Hyde Park and greatly improved the situation, but in most respects it is very inferior to Dorchester House, close by, where the utmost advantage was taken by Mr. Holford of the site. Dorchester House was, it is understood, designed by its owner, but the architect who carried out the plans was named Vulliamy. Grosvenor House presents no architectural features requiring notice. The older house was often described as at Millbank. It had been inhabited for a time by the eccentric earl of Peterborough and was called after him.* Peterborough house was pulled down in 1809, and now the Millbank Peniten-

* Cunningham remarks briefly on the difficulties in Pennant's 'Account' relating to the history of this house. There is a plan in the supplement to Smith's 'Westminster,' from which it appears to have been almost surrounded by water.

tiary occupies the site. It has been declared extra-parochial by act of parliament. But while the Grosvenors inhabited Peterborough House it was in the parish of St. John, Westminster, the last division of St. Margaret's which I have to notice. Before doing so, however, it will be well to state clearly that this house at Millbank was not the manor house of Eia, nor yet the farm house of Ebury. It was in a different parish, and in the original manor of the abbey of Westminster, and was purchased by the Grosvenor family on account of its convenient situation. It was described in 1800 as "a brick house with a pretty garden."* The house of Ebury was much more likely in or near Davies Street, where the estate office stands now.

St. George's, Hanover Square, is in the north-eastern corner of the parish, fully two miles from the river's bank. It was designed by John James, and being one of the fifty new churches erected at the beginning of the eighteenth century by virtue of an act of parliament, it was in its place before the parish became populous, and was consecrated in 1724. The portico is very handsome, but the rest of the building is dark and heavy. The east end is set off by two quaint and irregular brick buildings used as vestries, the architect having apparently omitted to provide any: a serious omission in a church which for many years was so fashionable for weddings that couples often put themselves to considerable inconvenience to acquire a domicile in St. George's. But the parish has been divided again and again since 1844, and a new marriage act has made matrimony lawful in almost any one of the many district chapels of the parish. The most important of these are St. Peter's, Eaton Square, the district attached to which includes all but the front

* Walcott, 338.

wall of Buckingham Palace, and the so-called Grosvenor Chapel, in South Audley Street, which perhaps boasts of the most aristocratic congregation in London. Attached to this chapel is an extensive cemetery, which was so rapidly filled that in forty years from the opening a new place of burial had to be found, and five acres of Tyburn Field, also now closed, were consecrated in 1764.*

The last parish formally separated from St. Margaret's was St. John's, Westminster. Its church is by Vanbrugh's pupil, Archer, and is in a most eccentric style. It resembles, according to one author, "a parlour table upset, with its legs in the air."† It was begun in 1721, and finished and consecrated in 1738. Archer built Cliefden, a handsome pile, and one or two other great houses; but his designs, some of which were engraved in the '*Vitruvius Britannicus*,' do not entitle him to further notice. The parish is very densely populated, and has several district churches; but the visitor who seeks for anything of interest in it will probably be disappointed. St. Stephen's, built by Ferry for lady Burdett-Coutts, who endowed it, is a handsome gothic church, and was much needed in the parish. Blore built St. Mary's; and there are several others, but to most of them, architecturally speaking, the epitaph on a lady in Fulham churchyard will apply:—

"Silence is best."

* See chap. xxi.

† Cunningham, 446.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PARKS AND PALACES.

IT has often been noted as a curious fact that all the royal palaces of London are in the original parish of St. Margaret. An exception being made of the Tower, the same remains true of the ancient residences of our kings. For Bridewell, Somerset House, the Savoy, and Whitehall are all in the district which in 951 was defined as the manor of the abbey. The more modern palaces are, however, situated in various divisions of the parish. St. James's is not in the parish of St. James, but in that of St. Martin. Buckingham Palace is partly in St. Martin's and partly in St. George's. The Houses of Parliament stand across the boundary-line of St. John's and St. Margaret's. Kensington Palace is altogether in St. Margaret's.

Whitehall, previously York Place, shows little trace of the magnificent house which cardinal Wolsey built for himself, and which Henry VIII. took from him, as he had before taken Hampton Court. The Treasury is on the site of Wolsey's great hall, and now replaces a smaller building which was adapted from Wolsey's, and cleverly altered from a gothic into a classical style by the simple expedient of making the buttresses into pilasters. Even this has disappeared, and except the Banqueting Hall, there is no building left which existed before the fire of 1698. It is now called Whitehall Chapel, though it has never been consecrated, except by the blood of the

"blessed king Charles the martyr." Between Scotland Yard and the Embankment stands an old house, the foundations or lower storey of which appear to be of ancient masonry. How long this relic of palatial Whitehall may survive I know not.

Nowhere does the arbitrary and tyrannical turn of Henry's mind show itself more plainly than in the almost cynical disregard of the public convenience that prompted his arrangements at Whitehall. He found it convenient to speak of "our manor of Westminster," meaning the palace burnt in 1512, which had long been the headquarters of royalty. He now transferred this title to Whitehall. In 1536 an act was passed by which it was enacted "that the old and ancient palace of Westminster from henceforth be reputed, deemed and taken only as a member and parcel" of the new palace of Whitehall. The "king's palace at Westminster" was to mean no longer the old palace of Edward and William Rufus, of Henry III. and Edward IV., but the new residence just finished by the cardinal archbishop, and just appropriated by his unscrupulous sovereign. The addition of St. James's Park to the new palace completed the usurpation, and the abbot was wholly cut off from his possessions to the northward and eastward of Whitehall. Finally, he was forced to give the king that part of Mandeville's bequest which was distinguished from Eybury and Neyte as Hyde. Thus, then, in 1545, Henry was able to issue the extraordinary proclamation in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.* "Forasmuch as the king's most royll majestie is most desirous to have the games of hare, partridge, pheasant, and heron, preserved in and about his honor att his palace of Westminster, for his owne disport and pastime ;

* "Ten copies printed for Islington Collectors.—Impensis J. H. Burn."

that is to saye, from his said palace of Westminster, to St. Gyles in the Fields ; and from thence to Islington, to our Lady of the Oke ; to Highgate ; to Hornsey Park ; to Hamsted Heath ; and from thence to his said palace of Westminster, to be preserved and kept for his owne disport, pleasure and recreacion ; his highnes therefore straightlie chargeth and comaundeth all and singuler his subjects, of what estate, degree or condicion soever they be, that they, nor any of them, do presume or attempt to hunt, or to hawke, or in any meanes to take, or kill, any of the said games, within the precincts aforesaid, as they tender his favor, and will estchue the imprisonment of their bodies, and further punishment at his majesties will and pleasure." This astonishing document was addressed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, and it is not upon record that they in any way remonstrated against its clear contravention of their charters. That the king had attained such a pitch of personal and irresponsible power that he could set aside the most cherished rights of the citizens for "his owne disport and pastime," made it easy for him to change the boundaries of Westminster and St. Martin's, as we saw in the last chapter, and to plant his park and palace right across the principal road from London to Westminster.

Henry added greatly to the house as Wolsey left it, and his works went on for seven years.* Two thousand five hundred loads of stone were used in making the walls of "an orchard," probably Whitehall Gardens, and in inclosing "the park directly against the said manor." A passage was made "through a certain ground named

* In Smith's 'Westminster' there are views and plans of old Whitehall. The payments for Henry's additions are in the records of the Treasury in a volume labelled "Westminster Manor." See 'Report of Burrell versus Nicholson,' by Walsh.

Scotland," and a long gallery, frequently referred to in the memoirs of the Stuart dynasty, was constructed "towards Charing Cross."

At first Whitehall was distinguished as the "New Palace," and, in queen Elizabeth's reign, as the "Queen's Palace"; but the name of "Whitehall" became common soon after the accession of James, in whose time Sir Symonds Dewes distinguishes between Westminster and Whitehall. James, among many magnificent projects, set Inigo Jones to design him a new palace for Whitehall, and, like his ancestor Henry VIII., he did not consult the convenience of his subjects in the proposed arrangements. The "open street before Whitehall," in which his son was afterwards to be beheaded, but which at this time was commonly used in the passage from Charing Cross to Westminster, would have been almost closed, so small were the archways designed for the north and south fronts. The drawings of Jones have been frequently engraved and published: but the palace never existed except on paper. It would have been the largest in Europe, exceeding even Mafra, the gigantic building which is so conspicuous from the deck of passing steamers on the Portuguese coast, and which is generally looked upon as the largest in the world. But Jones made a second and smaller design,* of which one small portion only was built, a banqueting hall,† of stone, which was to have been balanced by a chapel, the connecting portions to be of Inigo's favourite material, red brick.

A little to the north of the Banqueting Hall was Scotland Yard, a locality said to have been so called from the "abiding there" of Margaret, queen of Scots, the sister

* 'Vitruvius Britannicus,' i. 12, 13.

† See Cunningham, ii. 915. The Banqueting Hall cost 14,940*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* It was finished in 1622.

of Henry VIII. Stow adds that the kings of Scotland lodged at the same place when they attended the English parliament : but as a rule, the Scots kings who visited London before the time of the Tudors inhabited more secure but less commodious apartments in the Tower. Queen Margaret, among queens, holds a position in one respect very like that of her brother among kings. Both were exceedingly addicted to marriage. Margaret lost her first husband, James IV., in 1513. He was killed at Flodden, fighting against the army of his wife's brother, in September of that year. His widow's second son was still unborn but she lost no time in looking out for a second husband, and married him eleven months after the king's tragical death. Angus, her bridegroom, was not yet of age, while she was twenty-six. In less than four years she made up her mind to divorce him ; her sister-in-law, Katharine of Arragon, who did not know the fate in store for herself, endeavoured in vain to dissuade her. She had fallen in love with Albany, the regent, though he had a wife living. But ten years elapsed before the divorce was pronounced, and queen Margaret had changed her mind about Albany, and had lost her beauty from small-pox. Her third husband was Henry Stuart, Lord Methven, with whom she soon quarrelled, and when she died in 1541, she had begun to take steps for a reconciliation with Angus.

There are many views of the so-called Scotland Yard,* and they are of interest chiefly as telling on the question of where Charles I. was beheaded. The real Scotland Yard was further north. For some reason a theory was started and plausibly maintained that the

* This name appears, after the fire of 1698, to have been applied indiscriminately to two courts of the palace, and to the two original Scotland Yards besides. See Smith's Plan.

scaffold stood on the roof of a house which closely adjoined the northern end of the Banqueting Hall, and was in fact the gateway of the principal court of the palace. A view by Sandby, who erroneously calls it Scotland Yard, shows the gate as consisting of an arch, with a tall peaked roof surmounted by a ball, and flanked with two chimneys. It is impossible that a scaffold should have been erected here: but between it and the end of the hall are two other very irregular tiled roofs. Had the scaffold been placed on them, the taller gate would have prevented any but those people who were stationed directly in front from witnessing the execution. We know that it was plainly visible from the top of a house which stood where the Admiralty is now, because archbishop Ussher, who was on that roof, fainted when he saw the king's head fall. The local conditions therefore point to a different place, and the contemporary evidence, slight as it is, indicates the open space on the western side, or front of the Banqueting Hall.* The words of the death warrant are explicit. The execution is directed to take place "in the open street before Whitehall." The scaffold stood between the centre of the hall and the north end, and was approached by a platform which was erected in front of an aperture broken in the wall, at the level of the top of the lower windows. An exit might have been made by one of the windows, but Herbert, the king's personal attendant, mentions "a passage broken through the wall." "At the recent renovation of the Banqueting-House," writes Jesse, in 1840, "the author was invited to visit the spot, when the passage in question was plainly perceptible. For a space of about seven feet in height and four in breadth, the bricks presented a broken and jagged

* See Jesse's 'Court of England under the Stuarts,' i. 466.

appearance, and the brickwork introduced was evidently of a more modern date." This should be conclusive. It was probably considered more difficult to reach the high level of the windows, than to make a new exit.

The necessity of opening a better approach to Westminster than could be obtained along King Street, led to the destruction of a building only second in interest to the Banqueting Hall. This was the southern gateway, a beautiful design always attributed to Holbein.* When it was removed, in the very year in which the Londoners removed their old gates, and took the houses off London Bridge, the duke of Cumberland had the bricks numbered and carried to Windsor : but they were never set up again, just as the screen of Burlington House and the stones of Temple Bar, and other numbered buildings one could name, have been ruined under a promise of restitution never fulfilled. When a dean and chapter, or an inn treasurer, or a board of works, or an over-zealous official of the woods and forests department, desire to carry out some special act of vandalism, the indignant section of the public is assured and pacified by the promise that the stones shall be numbered and set up again. They are accordingly numbered, which costs little, but they are not set up again.

At the opposite side of St. James's Park, when Henry first inclosed it, stood a large hospital or almshouse, the out-buildings of which reached as far as the crest of the hill and abutted on the western road.† On this institution Henry naturally cast an envious eye. He could not take his pleasure nor disport himself in his new park

* There are engravings of it in many books.

† Some remains of the older buildings have lately been found in Arlington Street.

without seeing it: and at the dissolution of religious houses he hastened to take possession. There must have been but little accommodation for a court, but Henry added something, and it became a kind of villa or hunting lodge. The design of the new buildings is said by tradition to have been made by Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, which is not very likely. The old gateway or clock-tower which looks up St. James's Street is not very beautiful, and perhaps on account of its insignificant character has escaped when better buildings have been destroyed or "restored," but it is venerable, and, when it was taller than the surrounding houses, may have looked almost stately. On a chimney-piece in one of the chambers are still visible the initials of the king and his ill-fated victim Anne Boleyn. The chapel still shows something more than a trace of Tudor work, and is as quaint a little building of the kind as any in London.

Though Mary lived—and indeed died—in St. James's Palace, it was not in much favour until it was appointed as a residence for the precocious and promising Henry, prince of Wales, elder son of James I. He too died in St. James's, of fever as was supposed, being only nineteen, and left no mark on the place, which, however, must have grown considerably since the days of Henry VIII., for the prince's household amounted to some four hundred persons. Charles I. made it the headquarters of his great collections, and especially of his books, many of his pictures being at Whitehall.* He slept here the night before his execution, and on the morning of the following day, at ten o'clock, walked through the park with colonel Hacker, attended by bishop Juxon, the way lined with troops, and guards of halberdiers before

* Pyne, 'Royal Residences,' iii. 16.

and behind with colours flying and drums beating. “Once during his walk, being apparently faint, he sat down and rested himself.”* Perhaps it was then that he pointed out the tree his brother had planted. If so, his resting-place must have been near the spot where milch cows, by an ancient custom, are now stationed.

St. James’s was also occupied the night before their execution by Hamilton, Holland, and Capel, who were similarly taken across the park to Sir Robert Cotton’s house in Westminster, and then through Westminster Hall to the scaffold in New Palace Yard.

Charles II. did not make much use of St. James’s; but James his brother occupied it as duke of York, and occasionally also after he ascended the throne. In 1688 Mary of Modena here gave birth to the son who was destined to become known in history as the Old Pretender;† but it was not until the great fire at Whitehall in 1698 that St. James’s attained the honour of giving its name to the English court. The range of buildings facing Cleveland Row was made for Frederick, prince of Wales, on his marriage, and a few other additions of small importance, including a detached library for queen Caroline, were among the alterations; but St. James’s Palace often excited the wonder of foreigners on account of its mean appearance. The south side of what used to be and is still called the Stable Yard, was built for the duke of York, the second son of George III., but never inhabited by him.‡ His brother, the duke of Cambridge, had apart-

* Jesse, i. 464.

† See Pyne, for view and account of the old bedchamber, the last room at the east end of the south front—“the properest place,” as it was observed, for a cheat. See full discussion of the warming-pan story in Jesse, iii. 433, and Macaulay, chap. viii.

‡ The house is now known as Stafford House, and was sold to the duke of Sutherland, the price, 72,000/, being applied to the purchase of Victoria Park, Bethnal Green.

ments at the other end of the palace, which were burnt in 1809. A little further east is the German Chapel, a relic of the old Hanoverian days ; and behind it the residence of the great duke of Marlborough, now occupied by the prince of Wales. A modern roadway into the park has been made here. Still further east stood another royal residence, Carlton House, the ephemeral palace of George IV. To its situation we owe Regent Street.* To its wretched architecture and miserable colonnade we owe the front of the National Gallery. The whole site on which Marlborough and Carlton Houses stood was part of the royal garden belonging to St. James's Palace, and was leased away by queen Anne. It has all reverted to the Crown, and Carlton House Terrace and Gardens occupy the site, except that portion which immediately surrounds Marlborough House.

The park has changed as much as St. James's ; but the old stream of the Tyburn still flows through it, though no longer tidal, and makes its way underground to Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, whence it escapes into the Thames. The ducks and other wild-fowl may be looked upon as the successors, perhaps in some cases the descendants, of those to which Charles II. devoted so much attention ; but Rosamond's Pond, the favourite of suicides, has disappeared. A mulberry garden was planted by James I. on the site of Buckingham Palace, with a view to encourage the cultivation of silkworms ; and a keeper of the mulberries flourished among the pensioners of the court till 1672.

Charles II. leased the grounds and the keeper's house to a member of the *cabal* ministry, Bennet, earl of Arlington, who is commemorated in the names of two streets at the top of St. James's Street, where he also had a house,

* Pyne has elaborate views of Carlton House.

on land given him by the same king. Arlington House, at the western extremity of St. James's Park, became Buckingham House in 1709, when Sheffield, duke of Buckingham, who had bought it six years previously, made many alterations, pulled down a long gallery, and laid out the quondam mulberry gardens anew. This eccentric but accomplished man has left a long and interesting account of his house, in a letter to the duke of Shrewsbury, which forms, in fact, a complete description of a great house in the real "Queen Anne" taste, of which we hear so much now.* He tells us of the goodly rows of elms and limes in St. James's Park as forming an avenue for him, and goes on to mention his forecourt with its iron railings and basin with statues and waterworks. A terrace was raised in front of the house, and the entrance-hall was spacious, "the walls thereof covered with a set of pictures done in the school of Raphael." His parlour was thirty-three feet by thirty-nine, and had a niche for a buffet fifteen feet wide, paved and lined with marble, and flanked by coloured pilasters. The staircase was painted with the story of Dido, and the roof, fifty-five feet from the ground, was "filled with the figures of gods and goddesses." The first room upstairs "has within it a closet, of original pictures, which yet are not so entertaining as the delightful prospect from the windows." In the garden there was a broad walk, at the end of which "you go up to a terrace four hundred paces long, with a large semicircle in the middle, from whence are beheld the queen's two parks, and a great part of Surry." Among the other attractions was "a canal six hundred yards long and seventeen broad," the Tyburn, no doubt, under altered circumstances ; and on one side, presumably the

* It is printed in Pyne, vol. ii., and summarised by Cunningham, i. 144.

western, a wall, purposely kept low, was covered with roses and jessamines, and afforded, over it, a “view of a meadow full of cattle just beneath—no disagreeable object in the midst of a great city.” Finally, there was a “little wilderness, full of blackbirds and nightingales.”

There is a pretty little view of this house in an old volume* published a few years after the duke's death, from which it appears that the “basin” in the fore-court, mentioned above, had in the centre a figure of Neptune surrounded with sea-horses. The house was deeply recessed and had long wings, connected with the main building by colonnades.

In 1761 it was decided to give up Somerset House, which had previously been a dower house for the queens of England, to be turned into public offices, and Buckingham House was purchased in its stead from the duke's heirs, for 21,000*l.*, and settled in 1775 on queen Charlotte. Here George III. accumulated the splendid library which George IV. handed over to the nation, and which now forms the King's Library at the British Museum. The king erected a couple of large rooms for its reception,† and in one of them, in 1767, he had an interview with Dr. Johnson, of which many details are preserved by Boswell.‡ George IV. rebuilt the house, now become Buckingham Palace, but never inhabited it; and during the present reign it has been completely remodelled and much added to, the result being far from satisfactory. In fact, though it is one of the largest palaces in Europe, its poor architecture, and the tawdry style of the decoration, give it a meanness of appearance almost unaccountable. The only handsome thing about the old palace was the

* ‘A Character of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire,’ 1729.

† Shown in two views in Pyne, vol. ii.

‡ Life, ii. 36.

marble triumphal arch in front ; but this was removed in 1851 to the north-eastern entrance of Hyde Park. The eastern façade of the palace is 360 feet in length.

The gardens are beautifully laid out and have some fine trees, as well as a lake, and a pavilion or summer house decorated with frescoes, illustrating Milton's "Comus," by Landseer, Stanfield, Maclise, Eastlake, Dyce, Leslie, Uwins and Ross, an odd combination * of styles and artists. The low situation of the gardens along the ancient course of the Tyburn, is much to be deplored, and except in the finest weather they are damp and foggy. When Buckingham could look out on fields with cattle to the westward, they may have been more cheerful, but George III. failed to purchase these fields owing to a ministerial complication, and Grosvenor Place, much of which has recently been rebuilt in a palatial style, now looks over the gardens.

A road called Constitution Hill, now in process of rearrangement, leads along the eastern side of the royal gardens to Hyde Park Corner, where, until this year, the duke of Wellington in bronze looked down on Piccadilly, close to Apsley House. The Green Park of 56 acres connects St. James's and Hyde Parks, and has a pleasing and varied surface, through which the course of the brook can be traced by a winding depression. A large pond used to lie nearly in the centre, but was filled up in 1842, when the Ranger's Lodge,† which the gossip of the day attributed to George III., was pulled down, and the little park assumed its modern appearance. Some fine houses in the Stable Yard and Arlington

* Landseer's original design, "The Masque of Comus," is in the National Gallery.

† The two stags on the gate pillars of the Lodge now adorn the Albert Gate, Knightsbridge. Larwood, 'London Parks,' 318.

Street look into it on the eastern side, the most remarkable of which are Spencer House, designed by Vardy, but believed to have been founded on a drawing by Inigo Jones, with the addition of a pediment which goes far to spoil it; and Bridgewater House, designed in a magnificent Italian style by Sir Charles Barry. Although some of the houses along Piccadilly which look on the Green Park have been built with very little regard to cost, not one of them presents any architectural features worth notice, or, indeed, worthy of the situation.

We enter Hyde Park by a gate beside Apsley House which strange to say has never received a name. The triple archway with the connecting screen of Ionic columns is extremely pleasing, and rescues the reputation of the designer, Decimus Burton, from the obscurity in which most of his other works would leave it. The park forms the central part of the great manor of Eia, being bounded on the east by Eybury and on the west by Neyte. Some portions of Eybury were added to Hyde in the last century to make a straight boundary, and in 1825 the wall along Park Lane was removed and an iron railing erected—the same which fell before the attack of a crowd of agitators a few years ago,—when opportunity was taken to set the fence further back, thus widening Park Lane, and improving its appearance and size.

A similar wall stretched along the northern side, and the road being at a somewhat higher level, especially at the corner, a private individual raised the soil of the park, and obtained leave to open a gate facing Great Cumberland Place.* This corner, close to the place of execution at Tyburn, is commemorated as the background of a

* ‘Hyde Park,’ by Thomas Smith (p. 60); by far the best account of Hyde Park I have met with, but rather scarce, having been issued in paper covers at a shilling. It escaped the notice of Lowndes.

scene in Hogarth's prints of the Apprentices. The Idle Apprentice is about to be hanged, and some of the spectators have climbed on the park wall for a better view. Within the wall at the corner military executions used to take place, and when the ground was raised a stone which marked the spot was buried where it stood. Here, in August 1716 two soldiers were flogged nearly to death for having worn oak branches on the 29th May : and the only gallows ever set up in Hyde Park were placed here in order to hang sergeant Smith, in 1747, for desertion to the Scots rebels two years before. He was attended from the military prison at the Savoy by the chaplain.

The northern boundary of Hyde Park was straightened like the eastern, by cutting off a portion of the manor of Paddington : this was done by Henry VIII., and similarly queen Elizabeth rectified the southern frontier by bringing it nearly up to the Knightsbridge Road, forty acres being thus added to the inclosure. The present appearance of the Serpentine is due to the care of queen Caroline, who in 1733 drained some unwholesome ponds along the course of the Westbourne, and formed the very fine sheet of water we now see. I have neither been able to ascertain the origin of its name nor that of the road along its southern bank. The Serpentine and Rotten Row are puzzles alike. The queen, while she thus improved the park with one hand, robbed it with the other, and the whole rising ground in Kensington Gardens between the Bayswater fountains and the sunk fence on the crest of the hill were originally in Hyde Park. A hundred years later the water of the Westbourne, being contaminated with sewage, and liable to inundations, was conducted into an underground drain, and fresh water supplied by one of the companies. The handsome bridge,

across which the boundary runs, was built in 1826 by Rennie : and the latest alteration in Hyde Park has been the re-erection on the old site of the Knightsbridge Barracks, of which the only thing that can be said by way of commendation is that they are of red brick, and look best at a considerable distance. They cost 150,000*l.*, and were completed in 1880, some of the old stonework being used again, and the old Hanoverian arms replaced. The Ring of which we hear so much in memoirs of the Stuart period, and where Oliver Cromwell endangered his life by driving four-in-hand, was on the slope to the north of the Serpentine. A straight avenue of fine young trees on the eastern side leads from the ridiculous statue of Wellington naked as Achilles, to a round sunk garden, in the centre of which is a pretty fountain which never flows. Here was the reservoir often mentioned in books of the last century, and previously first the stables of Grosvenor House, and then a cavalry barrack. Hyde Park now covers nearly 400 acres.*

I have no hesitation in identifying Kensington Gardens with the manor of Neyte. The boundary between it and Hyde was formed by the Westbourne, and the bridge which carried the western road over the brook was Neyte-Bridge, or, vulgarly, Knightsbridge. Some confusion has arisen on the question, because in Pepys' and other contemporary books there are mentions of "neat houses," which are known to have been at Chelsea. But "neat houses," or in modern language, "cowhouses," though we still say "neat cattle," and occasionally "neat herd," might stand anywhere, and though part of Chelsea is isolated in Paddington,† we have no knowledge of any

* Mr. Nathan Cole, 'Royal Parks,' p. 20. It is sometimes erroneously asserted that Kensington Gardens are larger than Hyde Park, but they only cover 250 acres.

† See below, chapter xxi.

part of St. Margaret's being isolated in Chelsea. Moreover, allowing that Eia was divided into three portions, and that one was Eybury, and another Hyde, how can we otherwise identify the land which lay west of the brook, seeing we know it was neither part of Eybury nor yet of Hyde?

We are driven therefore to believe that the manor house of Neyte, where the great abbot Litlington and the still better known abbot Islip* died, was situated not very far from the site of Kensington Palace, if not actually upon it. Nottingham House,† as it was called in the reign of William III., was probably put on the ancient site, especially as it would not be easy to find a better. William III. bought it in 1690 for 20,000*l.*, and the old house was soon afterwards burnt. Sir Christopher Wren rebuilt it, but little trace of his hand can now be made out, except in the very handsome orangery, in the gardens to the north, which was begun for William but finished for Anne. There are massive and handsome gate-posts close by to the westward, and here probably was the roadway to Campden House, when all the hill was bare, except of a cottage or two among the gravel pits. Another possible relic of Wren is a charming semicircular alcove or summer house, which now stands in the further portion of the gardens beyond the Bayswater fountains, but which was originally close to Kensington High Street, where a wall hid the pleasure grounds from the passers-by. Parallel with the Broad Walk, which forms now the most pleasing feature of Kensington Gardens, is a new roadway which traverses what used to be known as the Moor, and is now called Palace Green. The second

* Litlington in 1386, and Islip in 1532.

† For further particulars as to Kensington Gardens I may refer to the notes I appended to Mr. Tristram Ellis's 'Six Etchings.'

house on the left was built by Thackeray from his own designs, to be in harmony with the palace opposite, and with what may be called the local genius ; and here he died in 1863. Close by there used to be a small pointed building containing an interesting chamber of considerable antiquity. It was probably built as a conduit to supply water to the house of Henry VIII. at Chelsea, and was sold with that house on several occasions. No respect was shown it when the royal vegetable garden was laid out afresh for villas in 1855, and one of the few little bits of genuine gothic perished from the west end of London. What the spirit was in which these hideous villas were erected may be judged when we hear that people who took building sites were forbidden to use red brick, though plaster and mud-coloured paint were allowed. A very curious tower was erected on the Moor for the water supply in queen Anne's reign, by Sir John Vanbrugh, to whom, whatever we think of his taste, must be allowed the merit of originality. This too has disappeared.

Kensington Gardens have, however, been enriched by the erection of the Albert Memorial, an enormous Cross, in a style which may be termed Italian gothic. It rises 175 feet, and cost 132,000/. It is incrusted with precious stones and heavily gilt, and a bronze seated statue of the prince by Foley is also gilt. Four reliefs representing artists and poets are below, and as many groups emblematic of the four quarters of the globe, flank the central structure. The cross, taken altogether, has a sumptuous appearance which, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, is perhaps the best we can expect of it. Given an immense sum of money, gathered amid such an outburst of public feeling as has never been seen in England since the death of queen Elizabeth, and no

great architect ready to take advantage of the opportunity, and we may be thankful that Sir Gilbert Scott, in a building every part of which is borrowed from something else, and which would not stand an hour except for a clever piece of internal mechanism which cannot be called architecture, succeeded first in raising a very conspicuous monument and also in spending the money at his disposal in so small a space.

There is a charm about old Kensington Palace * which eludes the ordinary grasp of artistic or architectural terms. Its red brick, its blue slates, its heavy cornice, its quaint clock turret, a certain fitness of proportion, are aided by the most charming situation in London, and perhaps by the historical associations, to produce an effect on the mind only second to that produced by Hampton Court. To those of us who have had the good fortune to be born and to live into middle age as the subjects of queen Victoria, her birth-place is in itself an object of interest. To all who have looked back with pride on the great days of a former queen, when most of the palace was built, while England's ascendancy abroad was being secured ; to all who remember the career of the first Prime Minister, and reflect that these vistas and walks were laid out by that other queen who made office possible to him in the days of George II. ; and finally to any one who has read of William III. and his gentle consort in the glowing pages of the great historian who lived and died close by on Campden Hill, Kensington Palace cannot fail to prove an object of the highest interest.

One ancient royal park remains to be noticed, although it is not and never was within the boundary of West-

* There are several interiors and an interesting description of the palace in Pyne.

minster. We have seen that Henry VIII. was able to take his disport without interruption from St. James's to Highgate. The connecting link between these extremities was St. Marylebone, with its open common. When the manor was granted by king James to Edward Forset,* "Marybone Park" was specially reserved. Charles I. in his troubles mortgaged it to Sir George Strode and John Wandesforde, who had supplied him with arms and ammunition for the prosecution of the war. This hypothecation was of course disregarded when the royal cause was lost, and the park was assigned for the payment of the arrears due to colonel Thomas Harrison's dragoon regiment. It thus a second time in a few years was in danger of being broken up ; but it survived some time longer, had its rangers, its lodge, its timber, until in 1765, we find it divided into twenty-four small holdings, chiefly laid out as farms, and in 1789 the duke of Portland bought up fifteen of them from a lessee, while the other nine accumulated in the hands of Peter Hinde, whose name still occurs on street corners near Manchester Square.†

Both leases, that of the duke of Portland and that of Peter Hinde, expired early in the present century, and the crown came into possession. The whole of the lands had been surveyed a few years previously, and a list of the farms and fields has been preserved, which contains many items of topographical interest.‡ There are three large farms and a number of smaller holdings. Mr. Thomas Willan holds 288 acres, and has several under-tenants, one of whom is employed as a maker of copal varnish. Mr. Richard Kendall holds 133 acres, and has some tenants, who appear to live in villas ; for there is a

* See below, chap. xxi.

† Smith's 'St. Marylebone,' p. 243.

‡ Smith, p. 244.

“garden let to Sir Richard Hill, bart.,” and a house, two gardens, and a shed, let to George Stewart, esq. Among the inclosures is “Saltpetre Field,” which name may refer to the operations of Strode and Wandesforde in the time of Charles I. There is also a “Rugg Moor and Lodge Field, in one,” of 57 acres. The farm of Mr. Richard Mortimer comprised 117 acres, and had on it six cottages. One of Mr. Mortimer’s fields was the “Nether Paddock,” and another the “Pound Field.”

In the year before this survey was made, 1793, an architect named White, who was employed on the Portland estate, formed a plan for the improvement of Marylebone Park. Ideas had been entertained of building over the whole space, but they were happily abandoned, and when the leases fell in, there was no difficulty in carrying out the great scheme which Nash had elaborated on the lines of White. There is no London improvement more satisfactory than that by which Regent Street, with its Quadrant, was made to connect Pall Mall and Marylebone Park. A labyrinth of miserable tenements had been allowed to grow up between Golden Square and Burlington Gardens. Even now, any one not very well acquainted with the region, who gets entangled in the lanes about Broad Street or Great Pulteney Street will find himself puzzled how to get out again, and will have to breathe many strange odours, and walk in not very select company. There is, in fact, within a stone’s throw of the finest street in London a territory which looks as if it properly belonged to Whitechapel or Wapping. The maps of sixty years ago show in Piccadilly, just between Sackville Street on the west and Air Street on the east, a little lane called Swallow Street, and a court called Vine Street. Striking boldly through the continuation of these thoroughfares,

Nash made Regent Street parallel with the upper course of Swallow Street, which was in great part obliterated, and he connected his new street with Waterloo Place by the Quadrant, already referred to, which occupies the site of a lane called Marybone Street. The Regent's Park had by this time been laid out, much as we still see it. The rows of stucco terraces called after the royal dukes had been built, and the Zoological and Botanic Gardens established.

Regent's Park is the largest of these "lungs of London," as it covers 470 acres. "The centre is to a great extent an open green plain, free almost from trees."* I have already† described the course of the Tyburn through it. An artificial lake has been made, compared sometimes in shape to the three legs on the shield of Man, and producing with its well-wooded banks a charming effect. Two or three private villas do not mar the view, though as they were all built as much in a "Grecian" style as stucco and paint would permit, they are not remarkable for picturesqueness. St. Dunstan's Villa was designed by Decimus Burton for the marquis of Hertford. It derives its name from a singular whim of that nobleman. When he was a child, and a good child, his nurse to reward him would take him to see the giants at St. Dunstan's, the old church in Fleet Street, where the hours were struck on a bell by two automatons. He used to say that when he grew to be a man he would buy those giants. "It happened when old St. Dunstan's was pulled down that the giants were put up to auction, and bought by the marquis out of old associations."‡ They still mark time in the Regent's Park.

* Cole's 'Royal Parks,' p. 36.

† Vol. i., chap. i.

‡ Cunningham, ii. 696.

In 1863, an Italian garden was laid out in the park, by Mr. Nesfield, under the direction of lord Mount Temple, who was at that time chief commissioner of the Board of Works. Great pains have been taken to choose plants and flowers which will flourish in spite of London smoke, and the result is most satisfactory, the rhododendrons in particular, and some formal rows of poplars, bearing the trial admirably. In fact, it is curious to contrast the flourishing condition of the vegetable kingdom in this heavy clay with the effect produced on animal life. The situation of the Zoological Gardens is unfortunate. A large number of animals die annually, and others go blind, and suffer from various diseases on account of the unfavourable nature of the soil. It would be difficult to suggest a better place. The gardens are in so central a position that they may be and are daily visited both from the eastern and western extremities of London; but there can be little question that a saving, not only of money, but of suffering, would result if they could be removed to a sandy, or even a gravelly soil.

Very pretty views are to be had from the Zoological Gardens, and other places, where there are bridges up and down the Regent's Canal. It is now almost abandoned by traffic, and the long narrow reaches overhung with heavy foliage afford probably the most completely rural effects to be seen so near the great city. Little as is the traffic now, during the passage under one of the bridges of a gunpowder barge, in 1876, an explosion took place which shook all London. The scene on the following morning in the neighbourhood was not one to be easily forgotten. Houses were wrecked as if they had been built of playing cards. There was not a whole pane of glass left in some score of streets. Even trees

and shrubs had been shattered. One trembles to think of what might have happened had the explosion taken place a little nearer to the menagerie ; the animals killed and the animals let loose would alike have been the cause of dire loss and confusion.

New as it is, the Regent's Park boasts of the presence of one of the oldest charitable institutions in the kingdom. St. Katharine's Hospital formerly stood in a very different place. There was a small piece of low lying ground beyond the Tower of London, in the Portsoken, and therefore the property of the canons of Holy Trinity at Aldgate on the hill above. Here queen Matilda, the wife of king Stephen, who is not to be confused with Matilda or Maude, the wife of Henry I., and the founder of the Priory at Aldgate, in the year 1148, established on this spot a hospital, which was to consist of a master, certain brethren, and as many sisters, but how many does not clearly appear. Their chief duty was to pray for the queen's soul, and for the souls of her son and her daughter. She placed the hospital under the special care of the canons, whose lands she had obtained by an exchange, and all went well till 1255, when a most curious transaction took place. We know but little about the private character of Eleanor, the queen of Henry III., and that little does not prepossess us in her favour. She was hated in the city ; owing to her neglect London Bridge was in danger of complete ruin ;* and the slaughter of the citizens at Lewes by her son "Sir Edward le Fitzroy," did not, we may be sure, tend to endear her in their minds. Queen Eleanor, for some reason which history has failed to preserve, cast a covetous eye on the foundation of queen Matilda, and made a perfectly unfounded claim, through her chaplain,

* See above, vol. i. p. 152.

to the custody of the hospital. The canons of Aldgate had long declined from their pristine piety, and were now chiefly remarkable for their enormous wealth. One of them, on some complaint of drunkenness against the master of queen Matilda's hospital, had been appointed to supersede him ; and that the prior and his canons had a right to make the appointment was upheld by the unanimous judgment of the barons of the exchequer.

Nothing daunted by this defeat, queen Eleanor went another way to work. She invoked the assistance of Fulk Basset, then bishop of London, and a warm partisan of the court faction. Bishop Basset inquired by what right the prior and the canons appointed to the mastership. They replied, of course, that the hospital stood on their land, that they had other and similar institutions to which they appointed, and that, moreover, they had received a gift of this hospital from the founder. The bishop took little notice of the validity of this claim. He appears wisely to have given no reasons for his decision, but he simply removed the canon-master, inhibited the brethren and sisters from obeying the prior, and appointed one of the brethren to be head of the hospital. Fulk Basset died in 1261, without having further arranged for the acknowledgment of queen Eleanor's preposterous aggression, but his successor, Wingham, compelled the prior and canons to make a formal act of resignation to the queen, threatening them with Henry's displeasure if they refused, and assuring them that the king's will was the law of the land.

After these high-handed proceedings, queen Eleanor entered on undisturbed possession, and held her Naboth's vineyard of St. Katharine's for twelve years, when, in spite of the entreaties of the pope, that she would restore it to the prior and canons, she absolutely suppressed

and dissolved it, and in 1273, made an entirely new foundation on the site, appointing a master, and fixing the number of inmates at twenty-two; namely, three priests, three sisters, ten poor women, and six poor scholars. Queen Philippa augmented the charity, and so it remained, spared even at the reformation, on the intercession, it was said, of queen Anne Boleyn.*

In the reign of queen Elizabeth a layman, Thomas Wylson, her secretary, was appointed master, and it soon became evident that he proposed to deal with the estates very much as his contemporary, Thurland, was dealing with those of the Savoy. But the inhabitants of the precinct, who derived innumerable benefits from the presence among them of so wealthy and benevolent a body, petitioned Cecil strongly against Wylson's proposed dissipation of the revenues of the hospital, and succeeded in putting a stop to his negotiations with the lord mayor for a sale of the franchises of the precinct. Great numbers of foreigners, chiefly religious refugees, resided here at the time, Dutch, French, Danes, Poles, and Scots. The buildings can never have been very handsome, and in 1734 were much injured by a fire. In 1751, the old house of the masters, which was built of wood, was removed as threatening to become ruinous; and a few years later the cloisters and the houses of the brethren were likewise pulled down, so that in 1779, when Nichols's view was taken, little except the venerable chapel remained of the original buildings. Sir Julius Cæsar, who was master in the early part of the reign of James I., had repaired and beautified it, and had presented a pulpit which still exists at Regent's Park. It bears a quaint inscription from Nehemiah, " Ezra the scribe stood

* There is a very full account of old St. Katharine's in Nichols's 'Bibliotheca,' with a plan and several views.

upon a pulpit of wood which he had made for the preacher."* The tomb of John Holland, duke of Exeter, and his two wives was removed at the same time, and a building erected in the Regent's Park in the style of gothic which might be expected from the date, 1827. A dock company envied the old site, and the brethren and sisters were removed from what might have been and had been a sphere of usefulness, to grace the new park and impart an air of antiquity and respectability to the pet scheme of George IV. The hospital has resisted all projects of reform, and cannot now be said to serve any very good purpose, except perhaps to enable the queen to pension off a meritorious servant or a superannuated foreign chaplain.

To the north of Regent's Park, were Barrow Hill and Primrose Hill. Barrow Hill has disappeared, but its companion remains, the only example of the kind near London. It is kept open, and is laid out in walks. The view from the summit on a clear day is not only beautiful but interesting, and well repays one for the slight fatigue of making the ascent.

Of the other parks of London there is not very much to be said. I shall notice Battersea in its geographical position.† Hornsey Wood has somewhat absurdly been renamed Finsbury Park, although it is more than three miles from Moorgate. Victoria Park is an oasis in the squalor of the east end. It is all that remains of the open common of Stepney, and is in three modern parishes. The civic authorities have done much in the way of securing the preservation of open spaces, but Epping Forest, Wanstead Park, Burnham Beeches, West Ham

* Nichols gives views and details of this pulpit in a series of eight plates.

† See below, chap. xxii.

Park, and the beautiful and breezy downs about Coulsdon, Keney, and Chaldon are beyond my limits. They have all been taken in hand by the corporation of London, who spent more than a hundred thousand pounds in one year, 1880, with this object.*

* The total expenditure of the corporation in the ten years from 1872 to 1881, on "providing open spaces for the people" has been 308,985*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TOWER AND THE TOWER HAMLETS.

THE occasion which William the Conqueror seized for building the Tower has been already described.* The situation, close by the river's bank, favours the supposition that a part at least of the ground within the precinct was reckoned royal property as foreshore. But another part was undoubtedly taken from the citizens, and the circuit of the city walls was broken. It has recently been ascertained, not only that a considerable quantity of Roman brick was used in the buildings, but that the foundation of the White Tower itself overlies that of a great and solid bastion. When Gray therefore talked of the "towers of Julius," he was not so very far wrong as has sometimes been thought. Had he said "towers of Cæsar," there would have been little fault to find.

While the western half of the tower precinct thus belongs to the ancient circuit of the city, the eastern half belongs to the original parish of Stepney. It is perhaps on this account that the parliamentary borough which has been formed of the parish is called, not Stepney, but, somewhat absurdly, the "Tower Hamlets." The boundaries of the precinct are very sharply defined, and for many ages the city looked with great jealousy at any encroachment. When Edward IV., for example, set up the gallows on Tower Hill, the citizens imme-

* See above, vol. i. chapter iv.

diately took alarm, and the jurisdiction of the sheriffs was acknowledged by the king.

In the reign of James I. a similar question arose, but in this case the citizens were apparently the aggressors. The lord mayor in 1618 ordered "a prison or cage" to be constructed on Tower Hill. Sir Allen Apsley, who was then lieutenant of the Tower, remonstrated in a letter* in which he pointed out that if the new building could be removed a few yards it would stand within the City boundary. He uses the curious word "disurbance" with reference to the site chosen. It had too much disurbance. As far back as the time of Elizabeth a controversy sprung up between the lord mayor and the lieutenant as to the removal of a boundary stone, and as to the lord mayor's right to have the sword borne before him upright until a certain point was passed.†

The gradual growth of the buildings as we see them now may be briefly traced. When William died the works were far from complete. At the close of the reign of Stephen there was only the White Tower within its wall, forming what we now know as the inner ward, the royal palace being on the south-east side. "No doubt there was a ditch, but probably not a very formidable one."‡ The outer ward was the creation of Richard I. and his minister, William Longchamp, bishop of Ely.§ The bishop deepened and enlarged the ditch, hoping to fill it from the Thames, an object in which, however, he failed. In his excavations he encroached on the land of the priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and on

* 'Remembrancia,' p. 442.

† See 'Remembrancia,' *passim*.

‡ Clark, 'Old London,' 101.

§ See vol. i. chapter v.

that of St. Katharine's Hospital. These trespasses were the cause of much complaint, which was not finally allayed until Edward I. made compensation. The "royal chapel in the Tower" is mentioned in the records of Longchamp's rule, and this may be the chapel of St. Peter. King John spent much money in buildings, and the chapel is distinctly mentioned in 1210, when Osmund, a knight bound for Poictou, received a gift of ten marks, and, to buy a horse, a hundred shillings from the king in the "church of St. Peter at the Tower of London."

But to Henry III. must be given the credit of having made of the Tower the extensive fortification we now see. At his accession the wall of the inner ward was complete, but the quay along the river's edge, and the water gate known as St. Thomas's Tower, had not been constructed. The wall probably abutted on the water, and the principal entrance was directly on the river. The palace, or "king's house," was built before 1222, and the Bell Tower probably soon after, work going on constantly. There are many entries as to the making of a chimney for the king's chamber, a piece of domestic engineering which seems to have taxed the ability of the builders. At this time the Wakefield Tower, which had formed part of the Norman work, was raised and completed, and the "Bloody Tower" adjoining. Close to it was the great hall of the palace, destroyed during the Commonwealth. It is in the Wakefield Tower that the modern visitor inspects the crown jewels, but it was long used for the storage of records. Unfortunately the old building has here been almost completely renewed, the chapel—the third which is known to have existed in the Tower of London—having been destroyed, not, indeed, under the Commonwealth, but under the direction of the

Office of Works. Here, in all probability, the unfortunate Henry VI. worshipped during a great part of his long reign, and one cannot but regret to see that the same want of consideration for ancient association is busy in every part of the venerable fortress.

In 1240, Henry III., the new-built Traitor's Gate, or Water Tower, fell down suddenly. It was rebuilt, and again fell. No doubt the foundation in the bed of the river was not sufficiently strong or deep. But superstition accounted for the two occurrences in a much more satisfactory way. On the night of the second fall the great Archbishop Thomas appeared to a certain priest and told him that he resented these great works as prejudicial to the citizens. Nevertheless, the king had them renewed, and compounded with the saint by calling the new tower after him. On this his sympathies with the citizens ceased to agitate him. An oratory in the upper storey, the fourth building of the kind, was dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury.

A good many of Henry III.'s descendants passed through the archway, some of them under sad circumstances. We cannot forget the figure of the lady Elizabeth, who was sent to the Tower on the outbreak of Wyatt's rebellion. When the boat came to the stair the princess refused to land. The lord in charge of her peremptorily told her she had no choice. It rained, and he offered her his cloak, which she refused, "putting it from her with a good dash," * and as she set foot on the steps she cried with momentary spirit, "Here landeth as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs." But her courage forsook her again when she saw the guards drawn up to receive her. The soldiers kneeled down as she passed, and prayed God bless her,

* 'The Tower of London,' by Lord de Ros, 71.

for which, it is said, they were all dismissed. The princess, unwilling to go further through the gloomy portals, sat down on a stone in the rain. The lieutenant entreated her to rise and go on. "Better sit here than in a worse place," she answered, significantly.*

The impression which St. Thomas's Tower used to make on the visitor is now much weakened. The upper storey consists of a new, nay, a novel building in the style of a country cottage ; and the water is no longer permitted to approach the steps. Few of the stones, if any, that Elizabeth saw in 1553 are to be seen now. Everything has been "restored."

Perhaps the most curious commitment was that of the abbot of Westminster, who, with forty-eight monks and thirty-two other persons, was sent to the Tower by Edward I. on suspicion of having stolen the king's treasure. The crime was brought home at last, after a long trial, to the sub-prior and sacrist.† Their skins were nailed on the doors of the treasury and of the sacristy, where they still remain, a warning to evildoers.

Edward III. did much for the Tower, which was the site of a powder factory in 1347, to the great danger of the buildings, though, in all probability, the quality of the explosive compound was not such as to make it very formidable. There are entries in the records for saltpetre and sulphur, "ad opus Regis pro gunnis."

In this reign, too, the Tower saw the first of a long line

* Lord de Ros mentions a tradition to the effect that certain of the city church bells having been rung on Elizabeth's release, she afterwards presented those churches with silken bell-ropes. He goes on to say that silken ropes long existed in the vestry chest of "the church of Aldgate." This may refer to St. Botolph's.

† Stanley's 'Westminster Abbey,' chapter v. ; and Scott's 'Gleanings,' p. 283, where will be found an account of the trial by the late Mr. Burtt.

of royal prisoners. David, king of Scotland, taken at Neville's Cross, was brought here to linger out eleven years of captivity and ill-health. In 1358, the then large sum of *2l. 12s. 9d.* was paid for his medicines. John of France, Richard II., Henry VI., Edward V., queen Anne Boleyn, queen Katherine Howard, queen Jane, and queen Elizabeth, are among the royal personages in the sad procession, but Charles I. was never confined in the Tower.

When James I. came to the throne the palace within the Tower had fallen almost into ruin. According to one account, he removed the great hall. In 1663 Wren was commissioned to repair the White Tower, which he did in a way worthy of a modern restorer, and only a few traces remain of the old Norman windows.* In 1841 a fire destroyed the armoury which Wren had built for James II. and William III., and the painfully substantial Wellington Barracks in a gothic style, as gothic was then understood, were placed on the site. The Beauchamp Tower was "restored" in 1854, and all traces of antiquity carefully removed: the inscriptions on the walls were taken down and placed together in one room, so that they have lost half their interest and all their historical value. During the past few years other changes have taken place, of which it may safely be said that few of them are improvements. The curious building, dating from the reign of Edward III., which adjoined the eastern side of the White Tower, has been removed, as have the great stores which stood on the site of the old palace.†

* I regret to hear that it is proposed to restore Wren's work. The authorities who have charge of the Tower have no more reverence for historical association than the dean and chapter of a gothic cathedral.

† It is understood that a further "falsification of the record" is to be carried out shortly by the erection of a building here which "will harmonise with its surroundings."

The interior of the White Tower still retains the fantastic arrangements of old arms, but we no longer enter it through a window, and “Queen Elizabeth’s Armoury” has become what it was before, the crypt of St. John’s Chapel. The chapel has been very thoroughly scraped, renewed, paved, and otherwise robbed of any appearance of age it had acquired in eight centuries. Something has also been done with the long-ruined towers along the quay. They were buried in modern buildings, and the process of extrication has, of course, been accompanied by great destructions. On the whole, however, this is the most satisfactory of all the modern operations, and the only one which has in any way added to our interest in the Tower of London.

The chapel of St. Peter’s “ad Vincula” has suffered more from “restoration,” than even the Beauchamp Tower. It only dates from 1512, when an older church was burnt, and was still new when interments were first made within its walls. Few churches have undergone greater vicissitudes than St. Peter’s. It may be described as either a collegiate church, a parish church, a royal chapel, or a garrison chapel. The intentions of Edward III. to place it under a dean and three canons, were never carried out. A similar scheme formed by Edward IV. went further, but was eventually dropped. It has, however, been continually served by a “parson,” whose office, instituted perhaps when the church was first built, has survived until now. Even when the arrangements for a college were in progress, the parson of St. Peter existed, and in 1419 gave very powerful proof of his existence when he slew a certain Friar Randolph, as Stow tells us without further comment. Philip and Mary found “no parson abyde to have cure sowle,” and

declared their royal pleasure “the same to be established into perfecyon.”*

The position of the Tower parson is, nevertheless still anomalous. The bishop has no jurisdiction within the precincts, says one authority.† Godwin and Britton report that it is under the control of the bishop of London, which is probably correct ; but Bayley calls it a chapelry, and in the next line speaks of “the chaplain or rector.” archbishop Whitgift and his successor “would not meddle with it,” but archbishop Abbot excommunicated “the rector and his son, the curate” for solemnising marriages without license. The reader turns with satisfaction to the precise statement of Newcourt.‡ The chapel was formerly exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop of London, but Edward VI., by letters patent dated 1 April, 1550, subjected it to the episcopal supervision, and this order was confirmed by queen Mary, on the 2nd March, 1554. “But,” adds the judicious Newcourt, “whether ever any bishop of London, did by virtue of these letters exercise any jurisdiction within the Tower, I have not found.”

We have all read and reread the affecting words in which Stow notices the chapel. “Here lieth before the high altar in St. Peter’s church, two dukes between two

* ‘The Chapel in the Tower,’ by D. C. Bell, p. 6. Mr. Bell carefully and approvingly details the vandalism and sacrilege which were perpetrated in 1876 and the following year.

† Mr. Bell.

‡ i. 530. Mr. Bell’s assertion that this arrangement was abrogated “upon the establishment of the Protestant succession in the following reign,” is somewhat puzzling. What Protestant succession did Elizabeth establish ? And what abrogation was ever formally made ? There cannot, in short, be any reason for doubting that the chaplaincy is of the nature of a perpetual curacy in the diocese of London. The constable is the patron. The stipend is paid by the Exchequer.

queens, to wit, the duke of Somerset, and the duke of Northumberland, between queen Anne and queen Katherine, all four beheaded." We have also read Macaulay's comment. "Thither have been carried through successive ages, by the rude hands of gaolers, without one mourner following, the bleeding relics of men who had been the captains of armies, the leaders of parties, the oracles of senates, and the ornaments of courts." Nothing can add to the mournful interest of the place; and though we must sympathise in the indignation which Macaulay expressed against the "barbarous stupidity" which had transformed the chapel into "the likeness of a meeting house in a manufacturing town," it is not possible to approve of the works recently carried on. The only satisfactory restoration would have been one which removed the seats and galleries, and which left undisturbed the sacred ashes under the floor. The reredos was ugly, but it had seen the burial of the Scots lords, and perhaps of Monmouth. It was much more appropriate than the fine new one, which, if it was really what it pretends to be, of the fourteenth century, would be 200 years older than the church in which it stands. A church built in 1512 would almost certainly have had a renaissance reredos, if any.*

But the alteration of the reredos was a small matter. There was not a more interesting piece of ground of its size in England than that which lay under the broken pavement of the chancel. It is almost incredible that a

* Mr. Doyne Bell mentions the resolution of the committee who carried on this unfortunate work. It is so typical of the state of mind which makes this kind of "restoration" possible that I quote it: "The chapel should be as far as possible restored to its original condition, and also suitably arranged as a place of worship for the use of the inhabitants and garrison of the Tower." It did not strike anybody that the two objects were incompatible the one with the other.

committee of government officials and military officers, unassisted by the advice or supervision of a single antiquary or historian, were permitted to dig over every part of it, to remove the ancient stones, to sift the earth, to re-arrange and classify the bones, and, in a word, to ruin the historical associations of this most sacred spot. A gaudy inlaid pavement bears the names, worked into ornamental patterns, of the nobles and ladies whose dust was so sacrilegiously disturbed ; and the church itself, if it once resembled a Methodist now resembles much more a Congregational meeting house, and the “original condition” is as far away as ever.

Before the building of the Record Office in Fetter Lane, the national archives were deposited in the Tower. Latterly the accumulation was so great that not the chapel in the White Tower only, but several other buildings, as the Wakefield and Bloody Towers, for example, were filled with documents. The chancery records were kept here at a very early period.* In the reign of Elizabeth, the first attempt to reduce the records to order was made by William Bowyer,† but his digest is lost. His successor, William Lambard, usually called “the handsome man of Kent,” compiled a calendar ‡ of the records under his charge and intrusted it to the countess of Warwick to lay before the queen. But Elizabeth desired that Lambard should present it in person, saying, “If any subject of mine do me a service, I will thankfully accept it from his own hands.”

In 1643, John Selden became keeper of the records.

* The name of William Lamhith, clerk of the works, is on record as having been ordered to see to the repairs of the house in which they were kept in 1360. The spelling of his name is interesting in connection with the controversies mentioned in chapter xxii.

† Was Bowyer’s Tower called after him ?

‡ Brayley and Britton, ‘The Tower of London,’ p. 338.

He was succeeded by Prynne, who though he had suffered so much under Charles I., was a promoter of the restoration of Charles II. Astle, who wrote the history of writing, also held the office, but the greatest of the keepers was Samuel Lysons, to whom, and to his brother Daniel, modern topographers are so deeply indebted. Under his supervision the systematic calendaring was commenced, and the names of Sir Harris Nicolas and Sir Francis Palgrave may be mentioned among those who have carried on the great work inaugurated by Lysons.

A different kind of interest attaches to the Tower menagerie, the nucleus of the great collection now in the gardens of the Zoological Society in Regent's Park. "Seeing the lions in the Tower" has become a proverb. People who visit the ancient fortress now do not go to study natural history, but "seeing the lions" is still the phrase employed. The first wild beasts were kept in the Tower almost as soon as it was built.* Henry I. had a collection of lions, leopards, and other strange animals. Three leopards, in allusion perhaps to the royal heraldry, were presented to Henry III. by the emperor Frederick II. This king indulged his zoological tastes at the expense of the city, whose greatest oppressor he seems to have been in so many other respects. The sheriffs had to arrange in 1252 for the safe-keeping of a white bear from Norway. They "provided four pence daily, with a muzzle and iron chain, to keep him when 'extra aquam' and a stout cord to hold him when a-fishing in the Thames."† Two years later an elephant arrived from France. He landed at Sandwich and the sheriffs

* 'The Tower Menagerie,' with cuts, by William Harvey, published in 1829, a pretty book.

† Clark, 'Old London,' p. 96

had to provide for him "a strong and suitable house," and to support him and his keeper. "At the time when the allowance for an esquire was one penny a day," remarks Mr. Clark, "a lion had a quarter of mutton, and three halfpence for the keeper; and afterwards six-pence was the lion's allowance; the same for a leopard, and three halfpence for the keeper." In the reign of Henry VI., the office of keeper was held by men of superior rank, and sometimes by the lieutenant of the Tower. In 1543 the collection consisted of four large lions and two leopards. In 1657 there were six lions in the Tower, and by 1708, the list of wild beasts had increased to eleven lions, two leopards or tigers, three eagles, two owls, two cats of the mountain and a jackal.* Fifty years later the menagerie attained very large dimensions. Maitland † gives us many curious particulars of the "wild beasts and other savage animals," and seems to have heard and believed some very extraordinary tales. The "man-tyger," which was probably an ape, specially interested him. It could throw stones with surprising strength and accuracy, and seems to have been deemed most valuable on account of its having killed a boy by throwing a cannon-ball at him. It had many other actions "nearly approaching to those of the human species." Among other wonderful animals was a golden eagle which had been in captivity more than ninety years. There was only one lion, Pompey, and one lioness, Helen. After this period the collection dwindled, and in 1822, when Mr. Cops became the keeper, he found nothing but a grizzly bear, an elephant, and some birds. Mr. Cops must be regarded as the true

* 'Tower Menagerie,' p. xv.

† 'History of London,' i. 172. His list commences with "Two Egyptian night walkers," perhaps some species of monkey, or lemurs.

founder of the present "Zoo." Within a few years the collection grew too large for the Lion Tower, and it was transferred in 1834, to the Regent's Park, where a few animals had already been gathered by the Zoological Society.*

The Lion Tower was an outwork in advance of the Middle Tower, now the principal entrance for visitors. It stood on the site of the present ticket office, and had a smaller tower adjoining it, and a drawbridge of its own.† The whole of the outer space was called the Bulwark, and sometimes Spur Yard. Close to it was the sluice by which water was admitted to the Tower Ditch. During a visitation of cholera, in 1854, the death of lord Jocelyn, then on duty at the Tower with his regiment, called attention to the unwholesomeness of the great surface of stagnant water, and the duke of Wellington ordered it to be drained. The bottom was partially filled and levelled so as to form a parade ground, and the sloping sides, north and west, were laid out with shrubs and walks, and surrounded by a railing. A curious accident happened here some years later, but escaped public notice. A fire-engine driven at great speed to the succour of a conflagration at St. Katherine's Dock beyond the Tower, emerged from Tower Street, and in the darkness was dashed against the railings. Engine, horses, and men fell headlong into the ditch, yet, strange to say, the engine only was injured.

Of all the manors connected with St. Paul's, Stepney was the greatest, and we have now to tell the story of its alienation and disintegration. A little further on a similar story will be concerned with the estates of the

* 'Gardens and Menagerie,' with Harvey's cuts, 2 vols. 1831.

† It may be seen on the extreme left—or west—of the accompanying view.

prebendaries or canons of the cathedral church. If the abbot of Westminster had the manor of St. Margaret's, extending west from the wall to Chelsea, the bishop of London had a counter-balancing estate in the east: for Stepney extended from Aldgate to the Lea, and from the Thames to the northern hills. In Domesday the bishop's holding is set down at thirty-two hides, and he had besides eight tenants, some of whom held as much as five hides. One of them was Engelbric, a canon of St. Paul's, and another William, the chamberlain, presumably of the city, whom we have had occasion to notice more than once.

This great estate comprised at least seven different modern parishes and innumerable smaller ecclesiastical divisions, being in fact itself the district so often referred to as the great and terrible "east end." Whitechapel was the first district separated. An ancient church, whose name, "St. Mary Matfelon," has been the subject of some wild guessing, had subsisted here—as St. Clement Danes had subsisted on the manor of the abbot of Westminster—from time immemorial. The rector of Stepney had the gift of the living in the time of Stow, but since the beginning of the eighteenth century even this connection with the mother parish has been severed and the advowson is now held by an Oxford College. The church was recently pulled down, and a new one in a very florid style of gothic built, but almost immediately burnt. It is now being rebuilt.

Shadwell was separated in the reign of Charles II. by Act of Parliament, when the church, also probably an old chapel of ease, was consecrated as St. Paul's, the gift being in the dean and chapter of the cathedral. One by one after this, "Wapping in the Wash," Spitalfields, Limehurst, Stratford, and Bethnal Green have followed,

and the mother church has now but a moderate district left.

The dedication to St. Dunstan is almost manifestly later than the church itself ; and we find, accordingly, "All Saints" added to the English archbishop, and even in some authorities an assertion that to them alone the parish was originally assigned. The old church has been much molested, but is the old church still, and contains a fine series of ancient monuments. So far back as the beginning of the last century the fame of Stepney in this respect had penetrated westward, and we find its epitaphs quoted in both the '*Spectator*' and the '*Tatler*.' Built into the west porch is a stone carved with an inscription commencing, "Of Carthage wall I was a stone," and signed, "Thomas Hughes, 1663." It may very well have been brought by a traveller from the African ruins.* The fine houses which once surrounded the church have all perished ; the neighbourhood is composed of very miserable tenements. Pace, who succeeded Colet, first at Stepney and afterwards at St. Paul's, was the well-known diplomatist, one of Wolsey's favourite tools, especially in his intrigues for the papal crown.†

Of the other churches in this vast parish it would be impossible to give a detailed account. With one exception, all were in the classical style, until St. Philip's was built in 1829, the first example of the gothic revival ; but one old gothic church survived, namely, at Stratford, near the "Bow" or arched bridge over the Lea, a chapelry of

* It was just twenty years after that Mr. Huntingdon brought home from Egypt to Oxford the oldest monument now in England. See '*Catalogue*,' Ashmolean Museum, No. 794.

† See '*Handbook to St. Paul's*,' pp. 156-168, for notices of Colet and Pace.

Stepney till 1719, when it was made parochial. It retains many pointed features, and is mainly as it was when built in the fifteenth century. It stands well in the middle of "the king's highway," on a site specially granted by bishop Baldock. St. George's-in-the-East has superseded the old name of Wapping, which now only belongs to a small riverside district, the church of which, perfectly modern, is dedicated to St. John. St. George's was designed by Hawksmoor, the pupil of Wren. It was one of the fifty parish churches of queen Anne's time, but was not finished and consecrated till 1729. Limehouse, formerly Limehurst, was made parochial in 1730, and the dedication of the church to St. Anne was probably intended as a compliment to the queen. It also was designed by Hawksmoor, but cannot be considered a favourable example of his powers. In St. George's and St. Anne's he appears in fact to have been trying experiments in a style already bound down by hard-and-fast rules. If we judge him by St. Mary Woolnoth, or St. George's Bloomsbury, we may think he approached very near to his master Wren: but these conspicuous riverside churches show that his genius was limited. Architects have been slow to learn, if indeed they have ever learnt, that eccentricity is not necessarily picturesque, while it is often unpleasing. Vanbrugh, who went even farther than Hawksmoor in this direction, succeeded more often, yet his best works are those in which he adhered most strictly to the conventional rules. Of St. George's-in-the-East there is not much to be said. Its tower is a monument of ugliness well known to any one who has occasion to go up or down the Thames below London. It is 160 ft. in height, and bears a little spire and weather-cock rising from among eight objectless columns. The interior is spacious, but insufficiently

lighted, and the construction is so ingeniously concealed as to excite a feeling of insecurity very much out of place in ecclesiastical architecture.

Stepney, like Westminster, at the time of the Conquest and long after, was a centre of fashion. Domesday Book contains a list of the bishop's tenants, from which we gather that some great men of the court, some of the city, and some of the church lived here, though it would be difficult to identify their holdings. Ralf Flambard must have overshadowed the bishop himself. Hugh Berners was a Norman noble. William de Vere became the progenitor of the long and illustrious line of the earls of Oxford. Beside the bishop of Lisieux and several canons of St. Paul's, there were some eminent citizens—Roger, the sheriff, * for example, and William, the chamberlain. These great persons probably lived either about Bishopsgate, outside the wall, or at Stepney itself, near the church of St. Dunstan. One or two of the holdings may still be identified. In the same paragraph with the bishop's home manor the estate of a canon of St. Paul's is described. This was probably Holywell or Finsbury, since the bishop's house was north of the city and near Bethnal Green. Sired, a canon, held it in the days of king Edward, and could sell or lease it. Another prebendal manor is mentioned, and as it is in the same paragraph, it was presumably at the same place, and would answer to the modern stall of "Ealdland." † A

* He was probably sheriff of Middlesex, but he may have been sheriff of London. The Essex sheriff seems to have been Sweyn. On the whole it seems likely that "Rogerius, vicecomes," as he is described in the MS., was not the successor of Gosfrith, to whom the charter had been granted, as "the title of William the Chamberlain" seems to answer best to that of "Portreeve."

† See above, chapter i. p. 4. Neither Holywell nor Ealdland is mentioned by name in Domesday.

third estate was the property of "Engelbrie, a canon," presumably of St. Paul's. He could not sell it, and it was probably not one of the prebendal manors. In a humbler walk of life we find Doding, the miller, who held a "virgate" of the bishop's own manor, and who seems to be commemorated in the name of "Dodding Pond," in East Smithfield.*

The bishop's manor house was at Bethnal Green. Its site, close to the western entrance of Victoria Park, is still indicated by some of the local names, such as Bishop's Road, Bonner's Road, and Hall Bridge. Names alone are ancient now in this quarter. All else is modern and moreover shabby. The Beggar's Daughter has multiplied a hundred thousand fold. Only public houses and pawnbrokers' shops seem to flourish, everything else has an air of poverty, which here and there puts on a still more melancholy look of gentility. There are a few private houses, surrounded by straggling gardens, and coarse weedy grass. There are great hospitals, one of which occupies part of the site of the bishop's manor house. There are some modern churches built in the early years of the gothic revival, and the handsome, if useless Columbia Market,† looks strange and out of place in all its finery of pinnacles. An occasional board school rises above the low roofs and looks pleasant and pretty by contrast.

There is an old Joe Miller about Bethnal Green which used to puzzle commentators. It related to some coarse joke made by Rochester or Charles II. as to a causeway constructed of the skulls and horns of cattle which

* 'Steven's Continuation of Dugdale,' p. 83.

† Intended by lady Burdett-Coutts for a local market, but, perhaps, too good for the place, and a failure. The architect was Mr. Darbshire, and the building cost about 200,000/-.

here carried the Newmarket road across a marsh. The citizens it was said, laid their heads together to form the road. At the present day the marsh is drained, and there are many roads in the district and many streets, but very few breathing spaces.

In one of them stands the museum, conspicuous among the east end buildings as the only example of what future ages may call the South Kensington style of architecture. The pilgrim from the west end if he is not very young may see another memento of Brompton in the majolica fountain which was so conspicuous an object in the exhibition of 1862. The raw colours are as bright, as inharmonious as ever. Glazed pottery, indeed, enjoys perpetual youth. The interior of the museum is more pleasing: the specimens of manufacture of different kinds being well arranged, and loan collections of china and pictures being constantly on view.

Before bishop Ridley surrendered Stepney to Edward VI., or rather to the greedy courtier who coveted it, the manor house had seen some very fine company at times. There is not much to connect Bonner with it during his first incumbency of the see, but before him several bishops had made it an occasional residence. Braybrook, who was chancellor of England in the beginnings of troubles under Richard II., found it convenient to live for months together half-way as it were between town and country. The hunting grounds of Hornsey and Highgate with their woods stretched away over the hills towards the great forest on one side, the busy city that, literally, "kings and priests were plotting in," was close by on the other. Before Braybrook, another chancellor, Baldock, was much at Bethnal Green, and died here in 1313. Bishop Roger the Black

(*cognomine Niger*) died here in 1241. But after the grant of Stepney to lord Wentworth the house declined. We seek in vain for any vestiges of it. A century ago it was divided into tenements. Hospitals, asylums, streets and squares cover all the bishop's land.

Near the church of St. Dunstan was another old house. In 1299 Edward I. held a parliament in Stepney at the house of the mayor of London, Henry le Waleys. The mayor's country villa must have been a palace. Its exact site is not certain, but it was probably the same as that occupied by mayor Pulteney in 1330. He was the representative of a great city family still commemorated in St. Lawrence "Pountney," one of whom at a much later period was an eminent statesman, and earl of Bath. Sir Henry Colet, the father of dean Colet, had a house here also, probably the same; it stood a little west of the church * and was known as the Great Place. Some fragments were still to be seen in the present century. The monument of Sir Henry Colet, repeatedly restored, is in the church. It is the special care of the Mercer's Company. The house which Sir Henry left to the company, was by them leased to the great vicar-general, Cromwell, earl of Essex. Colet's son, the celebrated dean, was vicar of the parish. It is seldom that so many great associations cluster round one such place. Here More and Erasmus must have visited Colet—whether in the vicarage, or at his father's house—and there are many allusions to the place in their letters. He died in 1519, and so did not witness the reign of terror under which More lost his head, nor did he see his father's house desecrated by the presence of Cromwell. When Cromwell in his turn was attainted the lease of Stepney was allowed to descend to his nephew, Sir Richard

* Lysons, ii. 685.

Williams, who assuming the surname, became an ancestor of the Lord Protector.

Stepney was privileged to have both a rector and a vicar. The rectory was a sinecure, but the rector nominated the vicar who paid him the rent of a red rose for the vicarage house. Colet was not rector, as he is sometimes called, but vicar : he lived in a house of his own, which he bequeathed to St. Paul's School, as a villa for the "High Master." Its site is marked by Colet Place. Pace, the friend of Erasmus, succeeded Colet as vicar of Stepney, and after some years, also as dean of St. Paul's. Rectory and vicarage have long been united, and the living is now in private patronage.*

The greater part of the manor of Stepney must, however, have been very little better than a fen until a comparatively late period. We find a prioress of St. Helen's just before the Dissolution granting a lease of land in Stepney called Hare Marsh ; and even so late as the time of Stow, much of the parish was completely open. There were fair hedges, he tells us, and long rows of elms and other trees. The name of Wapping may be that of a Saxon mark, but the old addition "in the Wose," or wash, sufficiently indicates its condition.† Nightingale Lane, Bramley, Ratcliffe (said to have been called from a bank of red clay), Limehurst, and other rural names occur by the river's edge. But already in the middle of the sixteenth century, the houses were springing up. The old place for the execution of pirates was at Wapping "at the low water mark, there to remain, till three tides had overflowed them."‡ Here, says Stow, there was never a house standing

* The gift is in the Tyssen-Amherst family.

† The "Wap Ing" may have been a meadow by the river.

‡ A similar custom existed in the liberty of Castle Baynard.

within these forty years. He is writing in 1603, and adds that since the gallows have been removed further off, there has been “a continual street, or filthy strait passage, with alleys of small tenements, or cottages, built, inhabited by sailors’ victuallers, along by the river of Thames.” This district, which began at the Tower with East Smithfield, was known as Ratcliffe Highway. Of late it has been called St. George Street, the name of Ratcliffe, except in the vulgar tongue, has disappeared, and Wapping is restricted to the corner cut off between the river’s bank and the docks. These docks commence on the site of St. Katharine’s Hospital, and are continued as London Dock, and Shadwell Basin right across the peninsula. To the north of them runs the highway so feelingly described by Stow; it is continued east until it becomes High Street Shadwell, and is finally lost near Limehouse Basin. Further inland is a vast thoroughfare, entirely modern, known as Commercial Road; and still further north, the old thoroughfare, leading to Stratford and its bridge over the Lea. The whole district is a labyrinth of small houses, and sustains an enormous population, almost entirely employed in docks, breweries, match factories, and other establishments of the kind. The efforts which have been made, by such institutions as the Bethnal Green Museum and the public libraries, to influence these people have had a fair measure of success, and deserve more than a passing mention, if only because of the amount of wholly disinterested labour which has been bestowed upon them by clergymen and employers in the district.

The bishop of London has still the gift of a majority of the livings in this immense parish, but he is no longer lord of the manor of Stepney. In 1550, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop, and afterwards martyr, surrendered

it to Edward VI., and for the last time we may connect Stepney with Westminster. Both the abbot's house and the bishop's manor were conferred on lord Wentworth. He retained his hold on Stepney, even during queen Mary's reign, and his descendants till 1720 were reckoned lords of a manor which included all the modern Tower Hamlets, except the Tower itself, and a small portion of Hackney, which having been alienated during the Commonwealth was never restored. A wealthy merchant named Daniel bought much property in the parish. Another named Tyssen imitated his example, and by degrees the greater part of the original manor was acquired by one family or the other. A union took place between them by marriage, and their present representative may be looked upon as lord of the manor, since he has not only the land as the Wentworths had it, but also the advowson of the church. There is on record a curious protest of the Heralds College against the unauthorised pomp of the funeral of Mr. Francis Tyssen of Hackney in 1717. He was a goldsmith and his body lay in state at Goldsmiths' Hall, and was conveyed at night with a great torchlight procession to its last resting place. The heralds issued an advertisement in the *Gazette*, censuring "the manner in which the body was set forth," as being far above "the quality of the deceased."* Two or three days after this great ceremony Tyssen's widow was delivered of a son, who eventually inherited the estate.

Hackney, which forms the chief part of the Tyssen estate, lies at the northern extremity of the old manor of Stepney. In the marshes of the Lea there was from time immemorial a village named Hackney Wick. It was on an island or "ey" of the river named

* See a similar case under "Battersea," chapter xxii.

in all probability after some Danish Hacon who settled there. Various neighbouring landowners acquired tracts of marsh land, as the wide-spreading waters were gradually canalised or banked up, and eventually the bishops, the Knights Templars, the hospital of St. Mary, (called St. Mary Spital) outside Bishopsgate, and the priory of Clerkenwell, had all estates here, each of which was reputed a manor. In addition Hoxton, previously Hoggeston, and in Domesday Hochestone, was a manor of the canons of St. Paul's, really owned by the Aspale family in the fourteenth century ; and the Gernons held Hergotestane, now called Haggerston. These two last were long reckoned part of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, which also includes, or included, a manor named Norton Folgate, or perhaps, "Forth-the-Gate," which belonged to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's and lay, as its name denotes, north of the city and outside Bishopsgate.* It is mentioned, but not by name or as a manor, in Domesday, as containing ten cottages on nine acres, and being situated at the Bishopsgate.† Clapton, which lies on the way to Hackney, is remarkable as the birthplace and residence during the intervals of his long journeys, of John Howard the philanthropist. He sold his house in 1785, and it was pulled down before the end of the century.

At the dissolution of the monasteries, the Temple manor in Hackney was granted to the earl of Northumberland.‡ It is one of the historical puzzles of that puzzling period to know how this earl Henry kept his head on his shoulders and survived to die in his bed, "at

* The prebend of Holywell was in both St. Giles' Cripplegate, and St. Leonard's Shoreditch. There is still a Holywell Street in Shoreditch.

† Riley ('Memorials,' p. 12) speaks of Fall-gate.

‡ Henry, 6th earl.

his manor of Hackney, now the king's house, between two and three in the morning, on the 29th of June in 1537." He it was who, as lord Percy, was contracted to Anne Boleyn: and his name was freely used at the unfortunate queen's trial, when this precontract was among other things adduced against her. The engagement led to a very curious scene, detailed in Cavendish's life of Wolsey, where the cardinal by the king's secret order, endeavoured to detach Percy from the lady. His course was to disparage her, to call her a foolish girl and an unsuitable match for the heir of one of the greatest earldoms in the kingdom, and though Percy at first protested that she was of "right noble parentage, for her mother is high of the Norfolk blood, and her father descended of the earl of Ormond," he eventually yielded, and submitted himself to the will of the king and the cardinal. It is to be observed that his subsequent marriage with lady Mary Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury, proved unhappy, and that he died childless little more than a year after the queen's execution. His monument which was formerly in Hackney church, has long disappeared.*

The manor reverted to the crown, the reversion having already been secured by a deed. It obtained, short as was the time it belonged to any sovereign, the name of kingshold, in contradistinction to "lordhold," the estate remaining to the bishop out of his original lordship. Kingsland and Kingsland Road still indicate the site, but there is little air of antiquity left in any part of Hackney. Here and there a "Queen Anne" or early Georgian house may be seen, with a heavy cornice and

* His only brother, Thomas Percy, had been beheaded a few months before for participation in Aske's rebellion. The earldom became extinct, but was revived twenty years later in favour of a son of Thomas.

deep-set windows, and perhaps a wrought-iron garden gate, but gardens are themselves becoming every day more rare as the town creeps on. A little chapel once stood by the turnpike at Kingsland. It was only twenty-seven feet long, but sufficed for the wants of a small branch "Lazar House" attached to St. Bartholomew's. The "loke" was removed in the last century, but the chapel only disappeared in 1846. It stood actually within the boundary of Islington.*

The bishop's land was termed "lord's hold," as the bishop was the original lord of the whole manor of Stepney. It went with Stepney to the Wentworths, but after the Commonwealth was not restored to them, and passed through the hands of various owners, chiefly as I have said, Daniels and Tyssens, many of whom were commemorated in Hackney church. Both came originally from Holland and were great in the city. There are still some fine old houses to be seen at Hackney, but most of those we read of in the last century have disappeared. Among them was Balmes or Baumes, now only commemorated by Balm Road. It was built about 1660 and had a high picturesque roof.† The estate on which it stood was sold to Richard Beauvoir in 1680, and belongs or lately belonged to his descendants the Benyon family. Balmes became eventually a mad-house, but has long disappeared, though the streets and squares of the neighbourhood preserve the names of some of its successive owners. A family named Perwich who kept a boarding school for young ladies at Hackney after the Restoration obtained celebrity on account of the beauty and accomplishments of Susanna Perwich, who was buried in the middle aisle of the church in 1661,

* Wilkinson's 'Londina Illustrata,' i. 121.

† Lysons, i. 320.

having died “in the 25th year of her age, of a fever which she caught by sleeping in a damp bed.” This paragon of perfection might have proved a rival to the lovely and clever Anne Killigrew, almost her contemporary, on whose death Dryden wrote an ode. But Miss Perwich’s poet did not attain the lofty pitch of Dryden. His verses, indeed, have about them an echo of Hudibras which mars their elegiac character,* and he himself seems to have been aware of their deficiency as he offers an alternative narration in prose. A few couplets will suffice to show the character of Mr. Batchiler’s poetry. He begins with “a description of her person,” from which we learn that “mix’d curiously,” it “gave great delight,” and must conclude that “person” with him meant complexion or face, like the French “figure.” He goes on, after an account of her hair and temples, which he compares to “alabaster rocks” :—

“ From her black jetty starry eye
Ten thousand sparkling Lustres flie.
Brave gen’rous spirits siderial
Move quick about each nimble Ball”—

and so on. She was a great musician. Perhaps Samuel Pepys may have joined a chorus occasion-

* The book is somewhat scarce, and most modern writers have been content to borrow the lines which Lysons copies. The title runs as follows :—“The Virgin’s Pattern : in the exemplary life and lamented death of Mrs. Susanna Perwich, daughter of Mr. Robert Perwich, who departed this life, every way a rarely accomplished virgin, in the flower of her age, at her father’s house in Hackney, near London, in the county of Middlesex, July 3, 1661. Published at the earnest request of divers that knew her well, for the use and benefit of others, by John Batchiler, a near relation, that occasionally had an intimate converse in the family with her, more or less, the greatest part of her life.”

ally at Balmes, and seen “her handsom sitting at her musick :”—

“ No Antick gestures, or bold face,
 No wriggling motions her disgrace.
 While she’s at play, nor eye, nor head,
 Hither or thither wandered.
 Nor nods, nor heaves in any part,
 As taken with her own rare Art.”

Several pages are occupied with an account of her religious state, from which we gather that Mr. Batchiler was probably a nonconformist preacher of the Calvinistic school, and we then reach her last illness and death. She went to stay a few days with a friend.

“ — Behold damp sheets
 Cling close about her in the bed,
 At which she waking said, *I’m dead :*
 And so it prov’d, alas ! for wo !
 At thought on’t I’m afflicted so !
 That briniest tears drop from mine eyes
 My heart with throbs and inward cryes,
 All broken is ! what shall I say ?
 She’s thus untimely snatched away !
 Shall I the careless Maid go blame ?
 And tell her what a horrid shame,
 It is, that by her negligence
 So choice a one is lost from hence ?”

She died of acute rheumatism, or rheumatic fever, to judge by Mr. Batchiler’s account of her sufferings, and her father’s scholars wept round her bier, the maid servants of the school, all dressed in white, carried her coffin covered with a white pall, to the church, and “a rich costly garland of gum work, adorned with banners and scutchions was borne immediately before the hearse, by two proper young ladies, that entirely loved her.” The Reverend Dr. Spurston preached a funeral sermon

on the text “Death is ours :” * and the coffin was let down into a grave in the centre of the church. The same grave already held the remains of “Mrs. Anne Carew, one of the greatest beauties of England in her time, and formerly a Gentlewoman of the School.” Mr. Batchiler takes care to add an advertisement on the healthiness of Balmes : for Mrs. Anne Carew was “the second of those five Gentlewomen onely, which have dyed out of her Father’s House, among those eight hundred, that have been educated there, within the compass of seventeen years.” The moral is drawn in lines which remind us of Bunyan’s introductory doggrel.

“ Now you young Ladies of the School
 Lest your affections grow too cool.
 Sit down, consider well your case—”

are the opening lines of this “serious exhortation,” and the poet ends with an allusion to Death :—

“ Shall we not count it our best friend
 That brings us to so brave an end.”

Perhaps the quaintest thing in this quaint book, besides some acrostics, chronograms, and odes by the fair Susannah’s school-fellows, is a long series of “Practical Queeries,” with which her biographer, proposing to fill up the remainder of a sheet, “left void for want of matter,” contrives to go on, or rather, cannot contrive to stop, for a hundred pages, the greater part filled with questions like this, from which the whole may be judged : “Whether he that affirms total and final falling away from special grace be not a downright Arminian, and Cozen-German to a Papist.”

* 1 Cor. iii. 22.

CHAPTER XX.

THE NORTHERN SUBURBS.

WHEN we speak at the present day of "crown property," the phrase bears a very different meaning from that which it bore under the Tudors. The first effect of the suppression of the monasteries was to throw an enormous amount of land into the possession of the crown. If such an accession of wealth came, by any conceivable accident or arrangement, into the hands of the crown as things are now constituted, the result might be a lightening of public burdens, a relief of pauperism, a remission of taxation. We often hear an ignorant person complain when some rich man has died without heirs and intestate, that his money has "gone to the crown"; little thinking that "the crown," in this sense, means the grumbler himself, and all the other taxpayers who are benefited by an increase of the national income. But to Henry VIII., and to Somerset and Northumberland, his successors in power, a crown estate was as much the property of the king as the chain round his neck or the ring on his finger. Under queen Mary the tendency was not so much to treat the monastic estates as the private property of the sovereign as to regard them in the light of a trust to be returned to their ancient owners at the first opportunity. Under Elizabeth, again, something more like the modern view prevailed. When crown lands were given away it was for a consideration. Many of the existing private estates in the suburbs of

London were purchased from the government of this queen, and were paid for in sums commensurate at that time with their real value. Under James the old system revived, but even the thrifty Elizabeth had not left the crown property as large as it was when Henry VIII. died, and the grants made by the Stuarts were few, in London, at least.

The enormous extent of the ecclesiastical estates in the suburbs, and their seizure by the crown, have proved circumstances of the happiest kind for us of the time of queen Victoria. It is to them we owe the parks. All these "lungs of London" were at one time or another church or abbey land. In those parts of London where the church lands remained to the church no parks were made. St. Paul's, in name at least, still holds St. Giles's and St. George's; Gray's Inn and Tottenham Court are prebendal manors, as are Camden Town and Somers Town, and other over-populous districts with changed names. They were not alienated by king Henry, but by their ecclesiastical owners.*

Further west we have two manors in the parish of St. Marylebone, one of which belonged to the nuns of Barking, and the other to the knights of St. John. The next parish, Paddington, belonged to Westminster Abbey, and, having formed part of the endowment of the short-lived bishopric of Westminster, became, and still, in name, remains the property of the see of London. Next we have Westbourne, still the property of Westminster Abbey. Further west again we come to Kensington, the estate of the abbot of Abingdon. Half the great manor of Chelsea belonged to Westminster, and is still the property of the dean and chapter. Crossing the Thames we find a momentary break in this

* For a list of the prebendal manors, see Appendix E.

almost continuous ring of ecclesiastical land. Kennington was, and is, a crown manor, and annexed to the duchy of Cornwall, but Lambeth was the archbishop's, Walworth belonged to the cathedral church of Canterbury, and Bermondsey, on the south-east, to the abbey of St. Saviour, there established. Crossing the Thames again we find Stepney, the immense manor of the see of London; and so have completed a circuit, at a fairly uniform distance, of the ring of estates which at the present day are the site of the principal suburbs.

The gradual alienation of their estates by the canons of St. Paul's forms the subject of a curious chapter in ecclesiastical history. The present nominal arrangement of the stalls seems to have come into force about the middle of the twelfth century. A meeting was held at St. Paul's in 1150 as to "bread and beer,"* and apparently some manors which had been appropriated to the food of the canons were now divided into residential estates. There is a certain monotony in the subsequent history of these estates. They were leased away by the incumbents, who gradually ceased to have any interest in what is still nominally their property.

The Middlesex manors belonging to the prebends of St. Paul's are all to the north or north-west of the city.† It may be worth while to trace the history of some of them, though it is often hardly possible to identify them, so changed are the modern names, so entirely are the original lords forgotten. The prebendal manor of Holywell, for example, which comprised the great district

* 'Newcourt, Repertorium,' i. 173. Oddly enough he spells *cervisio* as *servicio*; but the meaning is plain.

† They are Eald street, Holborn, Holywell, Cantlers, Mora, St. Pancras, Portpool, Ruggemere, Tottenham, Wenlakesbarn, Newington, Willesden, Brondesbury, Brownswood, Chamberlainwood, Harlesden, Mapesbury, Neasdon, Oxgate, and Twyford.

now covered by Finsbury, was, in 1315, leased away by its incumbent* to the mayor and commonalty of the city for the annual rent of twenty shillings. The corporation have had to surrender it to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the lease having run out and died a natural death in 1867. I do not know that the occupant of the stall now labelled "Finsbury" receives as much as his pound a year. Ealdstreet yields no income to its holder, though the manor, which evidently from its name was on the Roman road, may be identified with the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch. Old Street, St. Luke's, is probably called after the prebend. The Moor, at Moorgate, was a manor in the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate, as was Wenlakesbarn, or Wenlocks-barn. We must not suppose that these prebendal manors, though I have called them, for convenience, incumbencies, were in any sense parochial charges. They were merely, when they emerge upon the page of history, estates. It is possible that when they were first founded some spiritual charge was annexed to them: but in the twelfth century there is no trace of anything but the ownership of the land.

These prebendal manors originally no doubt came up to the very walls of the city. But at a remote period, when land was not very valuable, and life insecure without special protection, a series of monasteries sprung up just outside the walls. St. Bartholomew, for instance, was built on waste ground, as we are told. But, waste or cultivated, the ground was stolen from a prebend, perhaps that of Holborn.† There is a notice in the

* Robert de Baldok. "The lease, which has been renewed from time to time, will expire in the year 1867," says Mr. Aungier, 'French Chron.' (Cam. Soc.), p. 53.

† See account of the foundation, vol. i. chap. iv.

Domesday Book, of a small holding near Newgate, called "No man's land." This became part of the site of the Charterhouse,* and was anciently reckoned in the parish of St. Sepulchre, which was partly within and partly without the city boundary. The two modern parishes of St. Bartholomew, the Great, and the Less, were taken out of St. Sepulchre at the dissolution. But the site of the Charterhouse became, and continues, extra-parochial. Sir Walter Manny and bishop Northburgh united to found the Carthusian monastery, and its church was consecrated by bishop Stratford, Northburgh's successor. Several small holdings were united, and the names are interesting though it would be difficult to identify them. Pardon Churchyard was a burying ground belonging to the knights of Clerkenwell. Spittle Croft was a field belonging to the "spital" of St. Bartholomew. There was also Newchurch Haw, and further north lay Hervye's Croft. In 1429 William Rendre, citizen and barber, let to the monks for eighty years, at the rent of a red rose, an acre of land which contained a spring, and a map showing the sources of the water supply of the house is still extant.† Rendre's acre is very minutely described: it was pastureland, and lay in a field called "Conduit Shote," near "Trillemyle Brook," in the parish of "St. Andrew de Holborne," and was bounded on the north and west by the pasture of the Carthusians, on the south by that of the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew, and on the east by the king's highway leading "de Holborne versus Kentish town."

The Carthusians were, perhaps, more cruelly treated

* Vol. i. chap. viii. There is a full and careful account of the foundation by Archdeacon Hale in the 'Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society,' iii. 309.

† In the Charterhouse. See Mr. Hale's paper, as above.

by Henry VIII. than any other monks. The number of their houses in England was only nine, but they claimed the credit of having numbered St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, among their ranks. They preserved to the last their reputation for consistent and Christian life; and we find Sir Thomas More living among them for two years, in order to give himself up to devotion and prayer.* They strongly opposed the new doctrine of the king's supremacy, and even their submission in 1535 was only followed by the arraignment of prior Houghton for having spoken too freely on the subject. Two of his monks were brought up with him, and a form of trial was gone through. Their old friend More saw them going to execution from his prison in the Tower, and remarked on their cheerful demeanour. The utmost barbarity then prescribed by the law was inflicted on them, and Houghton's mangled body was set up over the gate of his monastery. Three more of the monks were similarly treated after a month's respite. Even this second exhibition of severity left some of the brethren unconvinced. Cromwell's visitor, Fylott, recommended that it was "very necessarie to minysh the numbre" of the monks, at least by so many as will not give up the pope and accept the king's supremacy.† In 1537 a new prior was appointed to succeed Houghton, in reality that he might surrender the house to the king, and the oaths were offered to the remaining monks. Ten of their number absolutely refused. Their brethren surrendered and received pensions, but these ten were conveyed to Newgate, chained in an unwholesome dungeon, and so cruelly treated by Cromwell's agent, Thomas Bedyll, that in a few days half of them died. A letter from

* 1504 and 1505 : see Sebohm's 'Oxford Reformers,' p. 146.

† 'Chronicles of the Charterhouse,' p. 26.

Bedyll to his master is extant. It reveals a depth of inhumanity unusual even under Henry VIII. "The monks," he says, "be almost despatched by the hand of God," which in this case meant misery and starvation purposely inflicted, and he adds a list of five who had died, of two who were "even at the point of death," of two who were sick, and says, "there be one hole." One of the two sick men was eventually the sole survivor, and after lying for four years in prison he was hanged. A portion of Bedyll's letter is taken up with commendations of the prior who had surrendered the house; and especially says of him "He is a man of such charity as I have not seen the like." Bedyll seems to have been a judge of charity. The other monks went to Bruges, and continued steadfast to their vows. On Mary's accession they returned, and at her death departed again, but Elizabeth evidently respected their consistent life, for she gave them a safe conduct.

The subsequent fate of the house was somewhat different from that of most of the London monasteries. It became, indeed, for a time the palace of a series of noblemen. The duke of Norfolk whom Mary Stuart lured to his death made it his headquarters, and built several commodious chambers, and a tennis court. The solitary cells of the Carthusians were unfit for ordinary life, but it is remarkable that so much old work remains. The chapel is mainly as it was built, and the cloisters may be easily recognised. The duke's eldest son, the earl of Arundel, held "Howard House" till his attainder in 1590, and it was afterwards granted to his brother the earl of Suffolk. In 1611 it was bought by Thomas Sutton, and made the central feature of the noble foundation with which he endowed his fellow-citizens. For reasons with which many people disagreed the Charter-

house school has lately been removed to Godalming, and one of Thomas Sutton's objects is thus defeated. The advantages of London for schools are obvious. To mention one of them—there is no other place where boys are so healthy, and there is no place where intellectual life is so powerfully awakened. Leech and Thackeray were educated at the Charterhouse, and hundreds of other men who have done credit to our country. The company of merchant taylors, wiser than the governors of the Charterhouse, when their old school in Suffolk Lane, Dowgate,* was destroyed by the Metropolitan Railway, took the discarded site of the Carthusians, and moved their scholars to it. It is difficult to say whether any of the old spirit was removed with the school to the Surrey hills, but the Merchant Taylors' School has naturally fallen heir to the greater part of it. The traditions of Addison and Wesley were too fragile to travel. Those of Thackeray are perhaps better preserved by the hospital than by the school, which he nicknames in some of his novels “the Slaughterhouse.” There are about fifty pensioners, called “Poor Brethren” in the hospital, the maximum number allowed by the statutes being eighty. Many of them are military men, and Colonel Newcome has been identified with more than one.

The Hospitallers of Clerkenwell always kept up friendly relations with their more strictly monastic neighbours in the Charterhouse. There are many records of negotiations respecting the water supply, a question the importance of which in the middle ages cannot be overrated. The two priories of Clerkenwell had been so long in possession that it is difficult now to

* See views of the old building in Mr. J. J. Stevenson's ‘House Architecture,’ i. 319.

say to what parish the land originally belonged. On the whole it may be assumed as probably correct that the whole modern parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, was formerly in Islington, as was part of the parish of St. John, the rest having been taken from St. Sepulchre's.* For Clerkenwell as it is now constituted owes its existence entirely to the nunnery of St. Mary and the priory of St. John. Indeed an outlying estate of the nunnery at Muswell Hill used to be reckoned in the parish of St. James; and likewise the possessions of the knights in Hackney Marsh were claimed for St. John's.

In the Domesday Book there is no mention of Clerkenwell; but the canons of St. Paul's, Geoffrey de Mandeville, Ralph the brother of Algar and Deorman, or Derman, of London, hold all the lands in Islington. Deorman's estate has been identified as Highbury.† Ralph held Tolentone, or Tollington. The estate of Mandeville came in two portions to the knights of St. John, and may now be identified with Pentonville and with Clerkenwell itself, except what was taken out of St. Sepulchre's. The estate of Deorman came eventually to the nunnery, and so the only lay family which continued for any time to hold land near London was extinguished.

Both the nunnery and the house of the knights are usually said to have been founded by Jordan Briset in 1100. With regard to the priory this may be true. With regard to the house of the Hospitallers it is almost certainly an error. The order of St. John was only instituted on the capture of Jerusalem in the previous

* Almost everything bearing on the question is printed by Mr. Tomlins in his 'Perambulation of Islington.' His conclusions seem sometimes incorrect, but as he gives all his proofs in full it is easy for the reader to reason for himself. O that there were more like him!

† See vol. i. page 86.

year. Jordan placed the nunnery on fourteen acres of land close to what we know as Clerkenwell Green; and the priory grew and prospered rapidly, obtaining gifts of land both in the immediate neighbourhood and in other parts of England. The prioresses had many transactions as to their estates with their wealthy neighbours the knights; and when the house was suppressed their income was $262l. 19s.$ * Their church stood where St. James's stands now, and was full of goodly monuments. It was granted to various private persons who let it to the people as a parish church, and at length in 1656 the parishioners purchased it and elected a "curate" to carry on the services. An act of parliament, passed in 1788, placed things on a more legal footing, and a new church, which is very conspicuous, especially from the Fleet valley and Farringdon Street, was built. The living is now termed a vicarage, but the householders of the parish elect the vicar, as of old.

The site of the nunnery and the adjacent lands were granted away by the crown very soon after the dissolution. They came at length to the Cavendish family, and their representative, the duke of Newcastle, resided in his house here in the reign of Charles II. Two or three streets still commemorate the name. The Clerken Well was long identified with a pump in Ray Street, formerly Rag Street.† The fraternity of parish clerks are said to have resorted annually to this well to perform a miracle play, and the name of the place is commonly derived from the circumstance. Clerkenwell Close still indicates the place occupied by the domestic buildings of the Benedictine priory.

The modern church was consecrated in 1792, and

* Malcolm, iii. 202.

† The pump is figured in Wilkinson, ii. 131.

stands as nearly as possible on the site of the nuns' chapel. In the vaults are buried the ex-lord prior Weston, who died of a broken heart, it was said, at the dissolution, though the unusually large pension of 1000*l.* a year had been granted to him. The last prioress, Isabella Sackville, also lies here. In the churchyard, among other eminent folk, rests Weever the antiquary. His grave cannot now be identified. He died in 1632. His epitaph said of him—

“He laboured in a learned strain
To make men long since dead to live again.”

It does not appear that the lines he wrote for his own epitaph were placed on his grave :—

“Lancashire gave me breath,
And Cambridge education,
Middlesex gave me death,
And this church my humation,
And Christ to me hath given
A place with Him in Heaven.”

The society of antiquaries sought in vain for Weever's tomb when the church was rebuilt. It was near the west end. The preface to his ‘Funeral Monuments’ is dated from his house in Clerkenwell Close.

Immediately south of the precincts of the Benedictine nuns we enter by the narrow Jerusalem Passage into the spacious St. John's Square, which was once the courtyard of the house of the knights of the Hospital. There is something unaccountable in the fact that the date of the foundation of the house is unknown. It is usually given as 1100, and Jordan Briset is mentioned as the founder. We may safely reject both assertions. The confusion between the two priories of Clerkenwell is illustrated by the contradictions as to the burial of Jordan and his wife Muriel. Sometimes they are said to have

been buried in St. John's, sometimes in St. James's; sometimes they are separated, and one is assigned to the church of the knights and the other to that of the nuns.* The only fact which can be relied on is that the church of the knights of St. John was consecrated in 1185 by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, who was in England at the time preaching a crusade. He had consecrated the church of St. Mary for the Templars in the previous month, and appears to have been exceedingly active in obtaining recruits, though the councillors of king Henry, greatly to the indignation of the patriarch, would not allow him to leave England. Richard, his son, assumed the cross. "I maye not wende out of my lond," said the king to Heraclius, according to Fabian, "for myn owne sonnes wyll aryse agayne me whan I were absent." "No wonder," answered the patriarch, "for of the devyll they come, and to the devyll they shall go," and so "departed from the kynge in great ire."

In a very short time the priory of the knights of St. John became enormously wealthy.† The lord prior was reckoned the premier baron of England.‡ Wat Tyler's rebels burnt the house in 1381, but it only rose more glorious from its ashes, the rebuilding going on till just before the dissolution, when Thomas Docwra, then lord prior, rebuilt the well-known southern gateway which still bears his shield of arms. He was succeeded by Weston, whose death and burial in the

* The register of St. John claimed them both (Malcome, iii. 201). Weever and Stow agree that they were buried in the chapterhouse of the nuns. Dugdale separates them. See Newcourt, i. 657.

† The well-known volume edited by Mr. Larking for the Camden Society gives an account of their possessions in England.

‡ In the 'Roll of Arms of the Peers' in 1515, printed by Willement, "the lord off Saint John's, lord Thomas Docwra," comes immediately after the junior earl.

nuns' church, I have mentioned above. The revenues of the house were reckoned to amount to 2385*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* Queen Mary restored the knights to their ancient house, and Sir Thomas Tresham became the last lord prior. The house had been retained by the crown, and during the reigns of Henry VIII. and his successors it was sometimes used as a royal residence. But the church was half ruined by the protector Somerset to obtain materials for the great house he projected in the Strand: and in the beginning of king James's reign it belonged to lord Burghley, afterwards second earl of Exeter. In 1706 it was bought by Simon Michell, who repaired it, and, in 1723, sold it to the Commissioners for Fifty New Churches, who made it a parish church, and in December of the same year it was formally consecrated, and is now a rectory in private patronage.

There are few relics of antiquity apparent in the exterior of St. John's church. But the ancient crypt remains and is a most interesting example of mixed Norman and Early English architecture. It was formerly filled with coffins, but they have been removed to the side aisles and bricked in, and the central vaulting is to be seen without interruption.

Many eminent people have lived in St. John's Square since the dissolution, but it is now the headquarters of the clock and watch manufacture, and also largely occupied by printing houses. Burnet resided long in a house on the west side opposite the church. John Wilkes was born in the square, where his father was a distiller: but his house was pulled down in 1812. The earls and marquises of Northampton have long been reckoned lords of the manor, and the site of their house, Northampton Square, lies to the north-east, near Goswell Street.

The Gate is famous as the residence of Edward Cave, who published here the first number of the ‘Gentleman’s Magazine,’ in 1731. There is a handsome chamber over the archway, and the whole of what remains of the old building has of late years been rescued from destruction and the desecration of a tavern, and put in good repair by a benevolent society of gentlemen, who call themselves the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and claim to represent, it is difficult to understand on what grounds, the English branch of the order.

Near the southern end of St. John’s Street, and close to the great meat market lately made for the convenience of London by the public spirit of the corporation, is the site of Hicks Hall, a sessions house built in 1612, for the use of the Middlesex magistrates, by Sir Baptist Hicks, afterwards lord Campden.* The miles on the northern road were measured from Hicks Hall, which was a commodious but not very magnificent place of meeting, and a great improvement on the chance taverns in which the magistrates had previously been obliged to hold the sessions. The trial of the regicides took place here at the restoration of Charles II., and here also William, lord Russell, was condemned, “in defiance or law and justice.”† Hicks Hall became very ruinous about the middle of the eighteenth century, and was pulled down in 1782 when a fine new building, still in use, was erected on Clerkenwell Green. The portrait of Sir Baptist was removed to the new house, as well as a chimney piece and some other relics.‡

The great prebendal manor of Islington § has been

* See chap. xxi. under Kensington.

† Macaulay, chap. ii.

‡ There is a very full and well illustrated account of Clerkenwell as it now is in ‘Old and New London,’ vol. ii., by the late Mr. Thornbury.

§ Mr. Tomlins’s ‘Perambulation’ is the best of several histories of Islington.

frequently referred to in these notes on Clerkenwell. A sketch of its history will not be out of place here, the more so as of late years it has become an integral part of the great "metropolitan area." Islington is one of the largest parishes in Middlesex, being, says Lysons, three miles and one furlong in length, two miles and one furlong in breadth, and ten miles and a half in circumference, reaching from Highgate on the north-west to Pentonville on the south-east and including both, as well as Upper and Lower Holloway, Canonbury, Highbury, Barnsbury, Stroud Green, and many other "hamlets." At the earliest period of which we have any account a comparatively small portion remained in the possession of the canons of St. Paul. Domesday Book mentions three separate estates belonging to them comprising in all eight hides, to only one of which is any special name given. This is Stanestaple, which may be identified with that part of the parish known as Stapleton Hall, near Stroud Green. Another portion, from having been let to the Berners or Barnes family, became known as Barnsbury. Another part having it is supposed been leased to the Mounteney family, came to Jordan Briset with his wife, Muriel de Munteigni, or Mounteney, and was given to the priory of St. Mary at Clerkenwell. Some other smaller holdings came to the knights of St. John, and in the end the church of St. Paul had very little of Islington left. Even Canonbury, which might be supposed prebendal, if anything, was the property of the prior of St. Bartholomew, having been given by Ralph de Berners before the middle of the thirteenth century. The prebendal manor, indeed, dwindled to very small dimensions before 1850 when it was ordered to be sold by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. It was situated on the east side of Lower Street.

The local names which survive in Islington are very interesting. Highbury marks the site of the "castle" of Deorman and his descendants. One of his sons was prebendary of Islington. Barnsbury similarly shows us where the Berners family lived, a family whose name still exists in the peerage. They held in Islington the half of one knight's fee from the bishop of London "as of his castle of Stortford." The learned and literary lord Berners,* who translated Froissart and Marcus Aurelius, sold his manor of "Bernersbury" to Sir Reginald Bray, in whose family it remained till lord Sandys sold it in 1539 to Robert Fowler, whose descendants in the female line possess it still. Canonbury, sometimes contracted into Canbury, is called after the canons, not of St. Paul's, but of St. Bartholomew's. It was surrendered to Henry VIII. in 1539, and then belonged successively to Cromwell, to Northumberland, and to queen Mary's nurse, the wife of David Broke, a baron of the Exchequer.† Eventually it came to the "Rich Sir John Spencer," who also had Crosby Hall, and still belongs, or lately belonged, to his descendants, the Comptons, marquises of Northampton. The scene of lord Compton's elopement with Spencer's heiress is laid at Canonbury. He is said to have carried the fair Elizabeth away in a baker's basket. The wealth which came to him on the death of his father-in-law literally turned his head. "That poor lord," says a contemporary letter,‡ "is not like (if God do not help him) to carry it away for nothing, or to grow very rich

* He is called on the titlepage of his 'Golden Boke,' John Bourchier, Knyghte Lord Barners.

† The Brokes are omitted in Nichols's 'History of Canonbury,' published in 1788. Mr. Tomlins adds many particulars I have found in no other books.

‡ Nichols, p. 21.

thereby, being in great danger to lose his witts for the same." He recovered eventually, but not till he had for a time been "somewhat distracted." There is another curious letter extant in which lady Compton describes the kind of state with which her household was to be ordered, the number of gentlewomen, maid-servants, laundresses, gentlemen, footmen, coaches and horses, she thought necessary to support her dignity, including 600*l.* a year for the performance of charitable works. The great lord Bacon rented Canonbury House in 1616, and after him the lord keeper Coventry. A portion of the house, well-known as Canonbury Tower, is still standing.

Islington still contains some old houses and retains the names of "the upper street," and "the lower street," now written with capital letters and without the article. The church stands in Upper Street, and is dedicated, almost as a matter of course, to St. Mary. It was rebuilt in the eighteenth century and cannot be called beautiful, though its steeple is imitated from that of Bow Church in Cheapside. The patronage was long in the hands of the nuns of Bromley-by-Bow, and afterwards passed into the possession of a number of private persons, but is now vested in trustees. There are a few monuments of interest in the church including two brasses of the sixteenth century.

Stoke Newington is another of the prebendal manors north of London. The parish is comparatively small, and very irregular in outline, some portions being completely detached.* The prebendaries very early leased it away, and a very small income seems now to be attached to the stall in St. Paul's. In fact, a private

* A coloured map of Newington is in Johnson's *History and Antiquities of the Parish*, published in 1820.

landowner is called lord of the manor. The old manor house was pulled down in 1695. It had been inhabited in the early part of the seventeenth century by Thomas Sutton, the munificent founder of the Charterhouse School and Hospital. The old church of St. Mary is a quaint gothic structure, "restored" not very successfully by the late Sir Charles Barry, in 1829: but a new church has been erected near it, from the designs of Sir Gilbert Scott, the parishioners very wisely declining to have the old church pulled down, as has been done in so many other places near London. It contains many curious monuments, including one to the memory of John Dudley, whose widow married Thomas Sutton. Dudley belonged to the same family as the great duke of Northumberland, and a magnificent shield of quarterings is on his tomb. In the churchyard is the burial-place of Mrs. Barbauld and Dr. Aitkin and a curious monument of the Pickett family, one of whom, Elizabeth Pickett, in 1781, was accidentally burnt to death at the early age of twenty-three by her clothes taking fire while she was ironing. Her epitaph contains a sensible warning:—"Reader, if you should ever witness such an afflicting scene, recollect that the only method to extinguish the flame, is to stifle it by an immediate covering."* The parish remained rural till very lately, but is now occupied by the better class of villas, and presents a comparatively pleasant appearance from the number and size of well-planted open spaces, among them Abney Park Cemetery, which is called after the late lessees. Isaac Watts came to Stoke Newington as a guest of the Abneys and having lived with them for many years, died here and lies buried in

* Johnson's 'History of Stoke Newington,' p. 176.

the dissenters' burial ground at Bunhill Fields, but a statue in Abney Park represents him.

West of the city were the manors of Portpool, on the north side of the Holborn road, and St. Andrew's on the south. The Honourable Society of Gray's Inn are owners if not lords of the manor of Portpool. St. Andrew's is cut up into small holdings, having in the time of Richard II. been the property of John, lord Strange of Knockyn,* who had here "a great tenement, with garden and sixteen shops annexed to the same."

The parish church of St. Andrew's, Holborn, is very ancient. It is mentioned in a document which sets forth the boundaries of Westminster as early as 971.† But it seldom afterwards figures in history. In 1686 it became ruinous, and a new building was erected by Wren, who, however, preserved what he could of the tower which shows some gothic arches. The interior is judiciously described by Cunningham as "a bad St. James's, Westminster."‡ Dr. Sacheverell, who contrived to make himself so notorious in the reign of Queen Anne, was incumbent of St. Andrew's, and lies buried in the chancel. The name of Chatterton is in the register, but he was buried in an outlying cemetery in Fetter Lane. Among the baptisms is that of Benjamin Disraeli.

The Holborn Viaduct has spoiled whatever there was to admire in St. Andrew's, which having stood half-way down the hill is now in a kind of pit: while, with very questionable taste, a dissenters' meeting-house has been built almost against it at the higher level. When age has worn the Viaduct and the so-called City Temple,

* 'Lond. and Midd. Archæo. Transactions,' i. 124. It is a pity that this society has not printed more documents like the "Grant of the Manor of Holborn."

† See above, chapter xvi.

Chapter xvii.

they will perhaps form with St. Andrew's a strange and picturesque group. At present they are strange, indeed, in their juxtaposition, but are not otherwise attractive.

Besides the prebendal manor, there was also a smaller estate, which requires something more than a passing mention. Ely Place still exists on the north side of Holborn, and in it the chapel for which William of Louth, bishop of Ely, in 1298, made provision in his will. This is all that remains of a residence given to the see by John Kirkby,* de Louth's predecessor, after a quarrel with the Templars as to the bishop's right to lodge in their house when he came to London. The master of the Temple resented the intrusion of the bishop, who had, however, some legal claim, and in the end recovered damages for the refusal to admit him. Three centuries later a similar intrusion drove the bishop into a corner of his palace, and the case of Sir Christopher Hatton

* Miss Phillimore says, in her life of 'Sir Christopher Wren,' that "Ely House was an ancient possession of the see, the gift of William de Ludd, who in the reign of Edward I. gave the house and endowed it with his manor of Ouldbourne, a name which soon grew into Holbourn," p. 118. As the authority for this statement, 'Newcourt,' ii. 273, is cited; but this page contains the conclusion of an account of Foulness in Essex. As, however, I have great faith in Newcourt, I looked in his account of St. Andrew's Holborn, where I found some justification for Miss Phillimore's curious statement:—"Ely House, belonging to the Bishops of Ely, and given to them by William de Luda, Bishop of that see, in the reign of Edward I., by the name of his Mannor of Ouldbourne, with the appurtenances." For this information Newcourt refers to Stow. I have also great faith in Stow, while I could hardly believe Newcourt to have misquoted him; but on turning to his account of Holborn, or Oldborne, as he prefers to call it, I find the innocent cause of all this tissue of errors:—"William de Luda, Bishop of Elye, deceased 1297, gave this house by the name of his manor, with the appurtenances, in Oldborne," &c. &c. The manor of William and the appurtenances of the manor in Holborn is a somewhat different thing from the house, "endowed with his manor of Ouldbourne," of which Miss Phillimore writes. I must apologise for making so large a note on so small a matter, but this is a typical example of the way in which London history is too often compiled.

and Bishop Cox is very like that of bishop Balsham and the master of the Temple. Queen Elizabeth's famous letter* to the "proud prelate" brought the bishop to reason, but even the romantic rent of twenty bushels of roses from "Hatton Garden" did not compensate him.

Ely Place, although it was the "inn" or town-house of the bishops, seems to have been always at the service of any one who wanted a large and commodious hall for entertainment or ceremony. Archbishop Arundel, while he held the see of Ely, did much to improve it, and Stow remembered to have seen his arms over a great "port, gate-house, or front, towards the street or highway."† This was the palace in which John of Gaunt spent the later years of his life. It was nine years after Arundel came to Ely that the rebels burnt the Savoy. The duke of Lancaster took refuge with his kinsman the bishop,‡ and probably the house was large enough for both. Here, in the reign of Edward IV., the serjeants at law held their feast, when a curious contest for precedence occurred. Among the invited was Sir Matthew Philip, mayor of London, a member of the goldsmiths' company, and distinguished by his military prowess, as he had been knighted on the field of battle during the wars of the Roses. Another of the guests was the lord treasurer, lord Grey de Ruthyn, who insisted on taking the first place, whereupon the mayor and aldermen left the feast and went back into the city, "and the new serjeants and others were right sorry therefore."§ The

* The authenticity of this letter is doubtful.

† The gate and the garden are clearly seen in Newcourt and Faithorne's 'Delineation of London and Westminster,' recently reprinted.

‡ They descended in the same degree from Henry III., and John of Gaunt's first duchess was Arundel's first cousin.

§ The story is told at some length by Stow, p. 144, together with details of other feasts here.

mayor consoled his aldermen by a feast at his own house, "howbeit he and all the citizens were wonderfully displeased." It may be a question whether the mayor had a right to sit above the lord treasurer, and whether Ely House lies within or without the city liberties. Possibly, as Stow hints, he considered it within them, but the police reckon it without at the present day. The gardens of Ely House must have been remarkably productive. In addition to bushels of roses we read of strawberries, and a famous passage in Shakespeare's 'Richard III.' is a quotation, more or less accurate, of an anecdote in Hollingshead :—

"My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries in your garden there."

As an episcopal residence, Ely Place must have been rather an encumbrance to the see. To judge from the magnificence of the chapel, together with what we read of royal entertainments in the hall, of courts and cloisters and colonnades, it must have been one of the most magnificent private houses in London. Perhaps it was to help in keeping it up that it was so often lent. We can easily believe that some of the bishops gave up the state apartments without leaving their own. Henry Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, was staying here at the time of Henry VIII.'s death. Here John Dudley was living in 1549, and here the combination was formed against Somerset which led Dudley along the regular path of ambitious statesmen under the Tudors—to the protectorship, a dukedom, and the scaffold upon Tower Hill. At length this hospitality of the bishops was carried too far. Sir Christopher Hatton* was not satis-

* The story is in all the books, but best in Malcolm's 'Londinium Redivivum.'

fied to take the house for a term. Bishop Cox died in 1581, and the see was vacant for eighteen years, during which Sir Christopher got a firm hold, and bishop Heton in vain opposed the grant. There were too many examples all around of similar grants. Where were the manors of Portpoole, of Holborn itself, of Rugmere? Were they still in ecclesiastical hands? Why should this stately mansion be an exception? Besides, Sir Christopher was prepared to improve the property. The bishop was poor, and did not want so great a house; he might retain his lodgings by the chapel. The roofs were very extensive, the gardens were enormous, there was a constant outlay needed, and Sir Christopher was willing to spend his money freely. He soon ran up a debt to the queen which he could not pay. Queen Elizabeth's heartless demand for the money, her subsequent repentance, her strange visit to Ely Place, when Hatton lay sick and sorrowful, and, as it turned out, actually dying, are all duly recorded, with circumstantial minuteness, in many books: but we find Sir Christopher's nephew and heir here in the following reign; and are told of the performance of a mystery play, the last in England, in the hall before Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, the same ambassador who pursued Raleigh to his death.

It was Gondomar who, with his bait of a Spanish marriage, sent prince Charles on his celebrated expedition. The party was carefully organised; the prince was to be royally attended. His spiritual as well as his bodily wants were to be provided for, and Dr. Maw, afterwards bishop of Bath, and Dr. Matthew Wren were designated to accompany him and guard him from the assaults of Popery. But Charles and Buckingham started by themselves, and the whole nation was "persuaded that the prince's faith would be tampered with,"

and his person endangered. The chaplains were speedily despatched, but had James's subjects seen the instructions with which he furnished them they would not have been so well satisfied of his safety from the ghostly enemy. The chaplains were provided with vestments, with ornaments and hangings for the altar, with altar lights and Latin prayer books, and were directed to hold frequent services and to order their behaviour "so near the Roman form as can lawfully be done"; and the king added, "It hath ever been my way to go with the Church of Rome *usque ad aras.*" With a characteristic quotation James dismissed them, and they reached Madrid in safety, but the apartments assigned to the prince in the palace were not furnished with a chapel, and so there was "no public service, only bed-chamber prayers."*

After Wren's return he received some preferment at once: but, though he continued in favour with the prince, he did not rise very high till the new reign commenced. Charles took him with him to Scotland when he went to be crowned at Scone, and soon afterwards made him dean of Windsor and registrar of the Garter. When Matthew Wren went up higher his brother, Christopher, the father of the architect, succeeded him at Windsor; a happy event, as it turned out, since in the troubrous times of the great civil war the new registrar buried the records of the illustrious order, and so preserved them for posterity when the jewels were lost. In 1634 Matthew Wren became bishop of Hereford, and was soon after translated or promoted to Norwich and Ely successively. Bishop Heton had been succeeded by Lancelot Andrewes, Wren's old tutor, and he by three other bishops, none of whom had managed to oust the

* Miss Phillimore's 'Wren,' p. 8.

Hattons from Ely Place. Bishop White was deep in the lawsuit when he died. The same difficulty had delayed the proceedings in every case. The bishops were poor men. The Hattons had laid out money on the house. How were they to be repaid? The new bishop was not a man to be deterred from what he considered his public duty by any hesitation as to his private purse. He brought his action into the Court of Requests, and produced the money. Lady Elizabeth Hatton, seeing now which way the decision must go, commenced to pull down the lead-work and to cut down the trees. Wren obtained an injunction against her. But the blood of the Nevils and Cecils was up. She had defied her husband and turned him out of doors, though he was a chief justice. A mere bishop was nothing to her. She disobeyed the injunction. But bishop Wren was not a man to be trifled with. Lady Elizabeth very speedily found herself actually arrested and committed to the Fleet. We should like to have particulars, but none have come down to us. Was she really incarcerated, or did a payment of fees and the observance of certain formalities suffice? We may be sure that whatever was the strictest course of the law was followed; and the reader might expect to hear immediately of the restoration of their old manor-house to the bishops, and the triumph of right over usurpation. But it was otherwise ordained. The bishop had offended the Parliament by proceedings of much greater public importance than the ejection of lady Elizabeth Hatton* from Ely House. In July, 1641, he was accused of setting up altar-rails, ordering the reading of the Book of Sports, turning out

* She seems never to have assumed her second husband's name. He was not a knight when she married him. Most writers who mention her call her simply lady Hatton.

nonconformist ministers, preaching in a surplice, and other "innovations," and very soon not lady Elizabeth but her opponent went to prison. Bishop Wren was sent to the Tower, and with a brief interval, in 1642, he continued there till Ely Place had been almost destroyed, till lady Elizabeth Hatton was long dead, till Charles and Laud had been beheaded; in short, till all he most venerated and best loved had disappeared, including his own wife and the Church itself for which he suffered.

In spite of his retrograde views on some subjects, Wren remains one of the most interesting figures in the long tragedy of the Great Rebellion. When release came at last, and the son of the king he had loved perhaps too well was restored to the throne, he quietly began again his episcopal work where he had left off twenty years before; and one of his first acts was to "exhibit his bill in Chancery (as he had done before the war in the Court of Requests) against the Lord Hatton and others for the redemption" of Ely House. Everything had changed except the stout-hearted bishop. It was hard for bishop Heton to contend against the chancellor, or for bishop White to contend against Sir Edward Coke, who had married lady Elizabeth,* and become chief justice in 1613. But the chief justice was dead: lady Elizabeth, who, in 1638, had gone to prison rather than yield to his order of the court, and who enjoyed a brief triumph in the early days of the Rebellion, followed her husbands in 1646.

During the Commonwealth the house was made first

* She was the daughter of the earl of Exeter. Her pride, quarrelsome temper, and marriages, are the subject of many pleasant passages in the memoirs of the time: most of them may be found summarised in Thornbury's 'Old and New London,' vol. ii.

into a prison and then into a hospital for wounded soldiers and their families. It was connected a second time with the Savoy, when, in 1660, just before the restoration, a sum of money was voted to both. But lord Hatton was at least nominally still in possession, and, when the bishop's bill came before the Court of Chancery, he was actually engaged in converting the noble garden into streets. Lady Elizabeth, before the Commonwealth and the imprisonment of bishop Wren, had commenced to dilapidate the house, and had cut down the fruit trees. The whole district, now densely populated, was first built over at this time; for Chancery proceedings were proverbially slow, and the bishop found little except the chapel and his own apartments intact. Even the gate-house was pulled down—though the gate still remains, or its successor—and, no doubt, those parts of the domestic buildings which had been occupied by the Hattons shared its fate, including the splendid hall, where John of Gaunt had feasted, where queen Elizabeth had danced, and where Gondomar had intrigued.

Wren's temper may be judged by an anecdote recorded in Miss Phillimore's life of his more famous nephew. During the Commonwealth, and while Matthew Wren, the bishop, was in the Tower, expecting the fate of Laud, young Christopher Wren, the philosopher, became acquainted with Richard Claypole. He was the husband of Elizabeth Cromwell, the Protector's favourite daughter. Wren frequently dined with the Claypoles, and on one occasion met Oliver himself at their table. "Your uncle," said Cromwell to the young man, "has been long confined in the Tower." "He has so, sir," said Wren, "but he bears his affliction with great patience and resignation." "He may come out an' he will," said

the Protector. "Will your Highness permit me to take him this from your own mouth?" asked the nephew. Cromwell assented briefly, and Christopher hastened with the good news to the Tower. But the bishop would make no terms with "that miscreant." He refused to submit in any way to the "detestable tyranny" of the Protector, and remained in his prison till the arrival of Monk. Two days after the Parliament had voted £1700 for the maimed soldiers in Ely House and the Savoy, and for providing them with "a preaching minister," the gates of the Tower were opened, and "Dr. Wren, Bishop of Ely, was discharged from his imprisonment," which had lasted more than eighteen years. In the following February Evelyn went to service in the old chapel and records that "after the sermon the Bishop of Ely gave us the blessing very pontifically."

Ely House and the Savoy were once more associated in the conferences which led to the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, and in which bishop Wren took a prominent part. The general drift of his suggestions may easily be surmised, and many of them were adopted. The bishop survived to see the new book in general use. A tradition at the Savoy, of which Sheldon was then master, asserts that the revised Common Prayer was first read there; but St. Etheldreda's was not far behind, we may be sure. Bishop Wren constantly resided in the house, and there are numerous references to the chapel in contemporary memoirs. Three episcopal consecrations took place in it during bishop Wren's lifetime, one immediately after his death,* and two more down to 1731. John Evelyn records the marriage of his daughter

* Stubbs, 'Episcopal Succession.' The dates are 1661, 1662, 1662, 1668, 1675, 1731.

here to a Mr. Draper somewhat more quaintly than is the wont in his diary ; for he says he gave her a portion of £4000, and "prays God Almighty to give her his blessing." The one is evidently considered the complement of the other.

But before Susanna Evelyn, with £4000 and a blessing, became Mrs. Draper, a new bishop was in Matthew Wren's room. When he emerged from the Tower his first care had been to build a chapel at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he had been a scholar under Lancelot Andrewes. In choosing the architect to carry out his work, bishop Wren's nepotism has conferred a benefit on posterity. Christopher Wren's first architectural work should have been respected even in this "restoring" age. But the lengthening of the chapel of Pembroke, so as to destroy Wren's proportions, and the stripping of the walls, are, after all, but small things in comparison with what the most ancient, but now, also, alas ! the newest of Cambridge colleges, has undergone amid the boasted light and taste of our own day. The bishop of Ely appropriately consecrated his chapel in 1665, on St. Matthew's Day. He was then seventy-nine, but had still two years' work left in him. He survived the plague, and witnessed the fire which was to afford his nephew such fame, and dying at last in his house in Holborn, in April, 1667, his body was conveyed to Cambridge, and was buried in his new chapel there with great pomp. He had never been able to shake off the Hattons. They covered the garden with wretched buildings under his very eyes. The law moved very slowly in those days, the bishop had many things of greater importance on his hands, and the contest was one in which time and close attention were most required. The death of bishop Wren may be said to have

settled the question, for though his successors protested they did little else.

At length, in 1772, an act was obtained, enabling the see to dispose of its claims and possessions. The remains of the house and the reserved grounds were conveyed to the crown for £6500 and an annuity of £200 to the Bishop of Ely; and Clarendon House, in Dover Street, Piccadilly, was bought for the see. It may easily be distinguished by its stone front and the mitre carved above the door, and is now one of the few official episcopal residences left in London.

A "very eminent architect and builder," whose name was Cole, bought the site, and pulled away everything except the chapel. Ely Place, sacred now to lawyers and diamond merchants, was built, and the chapel was let, according to the custom of the day. At the beginning of the present century it was held on lease by a lady, the widow of a clergyman called Faulkner. She provided a weekly preacher, and made what she could out of the chapel. There is an amusing reference in Cowper's 'Task'* to the way in which the services were carried on. It is evident that the clerk, probably the only permanent official, had an inordinate influence.

In 1781 the question arose, to which I have already referred, as to whether Ely Place was in St. Andrew's or not. In a trial before lord Mansfield about poor rates, the judge thus stated it to the jury:—"The question for you to try is simply, whether the palace of the Bishop of Ely, in Holborn, sold to the public and by them to the plaintiff (Mr. Cole), lies within the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, or is extra-parochial." The jury

* Quoted in a volume by an anonymous author, 'A Notice of Ely Chapel, Holborn,' published by Parker in 1840, in which a good deal of original information may be found.

found for Mr. Cole, and, though poor rates were soon after enforced, the latest maps leave Ely Place and Hatton Garden outside the city boundaries.*

In 1814 the tenancy of Mrs. Britannia Faulkner expired, and a new lease of the chapel was granted to a Mr. Wilcox, but, in 1815, the representatives of the National Society for the Education of the Poor, then in its infancy, made it their headquarters, and Mr. Coleridge, afterwards bishop of Barbadoes, became chaplain. When the society removed to Westminster the chapel was closed, after a brief struggle for existence. In 1843 it was assigned to a Welsh congregation, which dwindled and flickered for thirty years before it was finally extinguished. In 1874 a committee of eminent Roman Catholics set churchmen an example and put them to the blush by buying it and by laying out a considerable sum in what cannot be considered an injudicious attempt at restoration. Many features of interest were of course lost, but, except for a certain tawdriness which seems inseparable from a Romanist chapel, the general effect is good, and by no means devoid of the appearance of age. The ten side windows are very large and handsome, but the stained glass with which some of them and the large east window are filled leaves much to be desired, and some modern statues on the ancient brackets look strangely out of place.† The crypt, long desecrated as a wine vault, has been cleared and converted into a chapel, or series of chapels and confessionals. The curious row of pillars—all rebuilt—down the centre and the still more curious timber-work they support are well worth seeing.

The densely-populated district still retains some names

* See Collingridge's 'City of London Directory,' 1882.

† The chapel is 91 feet long and 39 feet wide.

which remind us of the long preservation of its rural character. Saffron Hill is one of the streets on the site of the garden, which, as it lay behind the house, cannot have been wholly in the place occupied by the present street called Hatton Garden. To judge by Faithorne's view or map, Kirby Street* would appear to be, so to speak, the middle walk of the garden. Field Lane outside led down to the Fleet.

It is a question whether the little manor of the bishops of Ely lay within the manor of Holborn or that of Portpool. Both were within the original parish of St. Andrew, and it seems likely that the highway, as in other cases, formed the later boundary. The manor of Portpool very early lost its prebendal character. In 1241 there was a controversy between the monastery of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and Roger Orset, who had the stall of Portpool, and was precentor of St. Paul's. They claimed a piece of land which he alleged, and proved, to be in his manor. It is called in the record by the puzzling name of Alfrichebun, which may be in modern language All-freshburn, and refer to one of the numerous little streams which ran into the Fleet. Sixty-three years later Portpool is spoken of as the property of the Greys, one of whom, Reginald, let it or part of it for a "hospitium" or inn, early in the reign of Edward III. Gray's Inn has ever since been on the same site. This Grey or Gray family seems to have been that of Wilton. In the reign of Henry VII. they conveyed the manor of Portpool to the fellows and students of the honourable society.

At the western extremity of the old parish is the modern district of St. George the Martyr, Queen Square.†

* Was Kirby Street called after Bishop Kirkby?

† A history of this little parish has recently been compiled by Mr. J. Lewis Miller.

It is sometimes, but very erroneously, described as in Bloomsbury ; and reckoned a chapel of ease to St. George's in Hart Street. But it is a rectory taken out of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and is in a different manor and parish altogether. It contains some interesting relics of old architecture, dear especially to the lovers of the so-called "Queen Anne" style. In 1742 the writer of a 'Survey of London' observes that "this parish being of a modern erection, it has few or no antiquities therein." A hundred and fifty years have transformed it into one of the older relics of western London ; and the antiquary may often be met prowling about the street corners and peering into the archways to find wrought-iron railings, bold brick cornices, shell-shaped doorways, pedimented windows, and all the other signs of the kind of building in fashion while Wren was yet alive. Queen Square was left open on the north side, it is said, in order that the inhabitants might enjoy the view of the Hampstead heights, and the open country between. Red Lion Square, which is also in this parish, is called from its having been the paddock of an inn, the *Red Lion*, still commemorated in a neighbouring signboard. At the *Blue Boar*, where now the Inns of Court Hotel has risen on the south side of the street, which is nearly opposite, Oliver Cromwell is said to have discovered, sewed up in a saddle, the documents compromising Charles I., which were used to bring him to the scaffold ; and at the *Red Lion* the body of the same Oliver was deposited in its cerecloth the night before it was dragged to Tyburn to undergo the pitiful spite of the triumphant Royalists. The story has been frequently repeated that the body never got further from Holborn than the Red Lion Paddock, and a large and handsome obelisk in the centre of the square "was pretended to have covered the

bones of Oliver Cromwell, whereas the whole embellishment was promoted by a subscription of the inhabitants, at the suggestion of Mr. Dillingham, a neighbouring apothecary," says Malcolm.* But Mr. Dillingham's suggestion does not in itself refute the tradition which certainly obtained at one time considerable credit.

Among the newer buildings in the district should be mentioned the very handsome church in Red Lion Square, built through the exertions of a private clergyman, Mr. Webber; and the very conspicuous but hideous Hospital for Children, near Great Ormond Street: an institution whose excellence as a charity is no excuse for the remarkable and disfiguring ugliness which makes its presence a misfortune to the neighbourhood. With the admirable examples of a simple and picturesque style with which the whole parish of St. George abounds before his eyes, the architect of the hospital has achieved a feat very similar to that which has placed St. Thomas's Hospital opposite the Houses of Parliament and beside Lambeth Palace.

Great Ormond Street is dated by its name. In the reign of George II. it was pronounced "one of the finest situations about town," on account of its north side looking upon the open fields. Lamb, the charitable individual, who, in 1577, conducted water in a leaden pipe from these fields to Snow Hill, has left his name in Lamb's Conduit Street. Theobald's Road and Kingsgate Street recall the frequent journeys of James I. to his hunting seat in Hertfordshire and the race course at Newmarket. Powis Place in Great Ormond Street is on the site of a house built by William Herbert, marquis of Powis, the head of an eminent Jacobite family. It was the centre of intrigues for the restoration of the

* Vol. ii. 306.

Stuarts during the reigns of William and Anne. In 1714 it was burnt while in the occupation of the French ambassador. In the popular belief he was engaged in making the arrangements to be carried out on the demise of the queen, which, in fact, occurred that same year. The historian may reckon the fire at Powis House among the political causes of the time. Louis XIV. magnificently rebuilt the house, as his dignity "would not suffer a fire office to pay for the neglect of the domestic of his representative." There is not much of this kind of dignity left in the world now. Powis House was pulled down a hundred years ago.* The site is a perfect nest of hospitals—the Homœopathic standing also where, in No. 50, Great Ormond Street, the Macaulay family long resided, of which there is a touching reminiscence recorded in the great historian's diary. In August 1857, he writes: "I sent the carriage home and walked to the Museum: passing through Great Ormond Street, I saw a bill upon No. 50; I knocked, was let in, and went over the house with a strange mixture of feelings. It is more than twenty-six years since I was in it. The dining-room, and the adjoining room in which I once slept, are scarcely changed; the same colouring on the wall, but more dingy. My father's study much the same; the drawing-rooms, too, except the papering; my bedroom just what it was. My mother's bedroom—I had never been in it since her death. I went away sad."

* See Miller's 'Church and Parish of St. George the Martyr, Holborn,' for further particulars. A view of the house is in 'Vitruvius Britannicus.'

CHAPTER XXI.

THE WESTERN SUBURBS.

THE modern west end of London may be said to commence with Rugmere: yet few, probably, of the sixty thousand inhabitants of that great prebendal manor have the slightest idea where it lies, or that they are in it. We have all sorts of pretty stories about the name of Bloomsbury. The wildest guesses are made as to its origin and meaning. Some say it was Lomesbury at first; others would connect it with some tradition of gardens and flowers. That St. Giles's belonged to it; that it was all comprised in an estate attached to a stall in the cathedral of St. Paul's; that its name of Rugmere probably referred to a pond, or pool, or marsh, on the summit of the hill* or ridge which separated the valley of the Fleet from that of the Tyburn; that the name Bloomsbury is evidently of personal origin, and must refer to an owner or occupier—all these are facts, plain enough, indeed, but never referred to in the pleasant collections of anecdotes which sometimes do duty for histories of London.

Rugmere, in Domesday, is described as a manor in Ossulston, belonging to Ralph, a canon of St. Paul's. It was assessed for two hides. It was worth thirty-five shillings (a year), and had been worth forty in the time of king Edward the Confessor. It was then, and had been, in the demesne of the canons of St. Paul's. There is

* Already described in chap. i.

not a word as to any sub-manor, nor mention of a division between Bloomsbury and St. Giles's. When, a few years ago, an eminent clergyman was appointed to the prebendal stall of Rugmere, a question as to where Rugmere might be went unanswered round the papers. There was a Ralph, called Fitz Algod, canon of Rugmere in 1132, probably not the same as the Ralph of Domesday. Fitz Algod was succeeded by his son William,* and he by another Ralph, of Chilton, archdeacon of Middlesex, who was alive in 1192. Another canon of Rugmere, John de Crachale, a chaplain to the good Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, was one of those privileged to hear the outburst of heavenly music, near Buckden, on the night of the bishop's death.†

If we look at any old map of London—any map, that is, made before the beginning of the present century—we may observe that the old road, diverted, as I have elsewhere shown, from the line of the Watling Street at the Marble Arch, runs in an eastward direction towards Newgate. It was a Roman road, and was, as usual with the Romans, made as nearly straight as possible. That is, from the Marble Arch, whence, as I have endeavoured to show, it used to run straight to the Thames at Westminster, it now runs straight to the Thames at London Bridge. But on examining the course of the road with care, we see that at a certain point it made a slight circuit to the south. We have long been accustomed to the straight, or nearly straight line of Oxford Street, and forget that it was only in the present reign that "New Oxford Street"—the piece connecting the old street,

* Newcourt, i. 206.

† 'Roberti Grossteste Epistolæ,' edited by Mr. Luard for the Rolls Series, p. lxxxiii.

which ran to the Tottenham Court Road, with Holborn—was made; and that, previously, on reaching a place where there was a pond and a pound, and at one time a gibbet, it would have turned a little to the right into High Street, St. Giles's; and at High Holborn, after describing a semicircle, have returned into the straight Roman line of road again.

The reason for this deflection is not known; but it is not speculating too deeply to suggest that here, where St. Giles's Pond remained almost till our own day, was the Rugmere which gave its name to the prebendal manor, and that the road made a circuit to avoid it. We know for certain that there was a “mere” at this place, or very near it. We know that it was on the ridge, and we know that the ridge is highest just here. It is but reasonable to seek for some cause to account for the bend in the usually inflexible course of a Roman road; and no reason seems so good as this.

But we may go further, and ask, What has become of the mere? The first fact we have in the history of Bloomsbury answers the question. Bloom, whose Bury may be said still to exist, was one William Blemund, or de Bleomund, or Blemot—the name occurs in all these forms—who made a great fosse, called Blemund's Dyke, or ditch, which drained the mere. This long-forgotten worthy lived in the reign of king John, and his name occurs in the deeds and charters connected with the hospital of St. Giles, to which I shall have occasion to refer a little further on. Blemund's Dyke divided the northern half of Rugmere from the southern; but Bloomsbury and St. Giles's are both parts of the original manor of the prebendary of St. Paul's.

This great estate was bounded on the south by the manor of the Savoy, on the west by St. Marylebone, on

the north by Tottenham, on the east by Portpoole and St. Andrew's, Holborn. When the hospital at St. Giles's corner was founded in 1117, a "Manor of St. Giles" was apparently separated for its benefit. Before the passing of the Act "Quia emptores" such a separation was easy. In a hundred years the rest of the original manor, that part namely, which lay to the north of the high road, now Oxford Street, was apparently alienated like the southern part. Blemund's ditch, referred to above, passed behind the northern row of houses in Holborn, but is now forgotten. The name survives in "Bloomsbury." The manor house of Rugmere was isolated in the parish of St. Pancras.*

The sub-manor of Bloomsbury passed through the hands of many owners before it came in 1617 to Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, for the price of 600*l.* In 1668, the treasurer, Thomas, fourth earl, died, leaving Bloomsbury to his co-heiress, the justly famous lady Rachel, widow of lord Vaughan son of the earl of Carbery, who, by her marriage with William, lord Russell, conveyed to the Bedford family an estate of which the value at the present day can only be reckoned in millions.

The original church was apparently at the place occupied in the twelfth century by the hospital of St. Giles, the same site on which the modern church stands. It was rebuilt in 1734. Other parochial institutions were to be found near the same place. At the corner of the Tyburn Road, now Oxford Street, was the pound. Near the pound was the "cage,"† apparently a lock-up

* It is probably on this account that most writers make Rugmere a manor in St. Pancras, like Tottenham.

† At this corner a tavern bore the sign of the "Hog in Pound," till 1881. A bank has been built upon the site.

for disorderly persons.* In 1413 between the wall of the hospital and the pound, a gibbet was erected for the execution of criminals. It had previously stood in Smithfield, though a double execution took place far westward, at the afterwards famous Tyburn, more than five-and-twenty years earlier.† The modern church was built in 1734, but stands on the site of the hospital chapel, which probably included an aisle for parochial worshippers, as in other cases. It was succeeded by a second church built in 1623: in fact there can have been but a scanty congregation at first, and the church had to be enlarged to suit the gradual growth of the population.

The manor was granted, together with the buildings of the Hospital of St. Giles or Lazar House, by Henry VIII., in 1545, to John Dudley, who was then known as lord Lisle, and afterwards as duke of Northumberland, and Protector of the Realm in the minority of Edward VI. Dudley fitted up the old buildings for his own residence, but shortly after conveyed the whole of the premises to Sir Wymond Carew, who, however, seems to have been merely a trustee, and reconveyed or let it to the Dudley family. The duchess of Dudley, the widow of an illegitimate son of queen Elizabeth's earl of Leicester, resided in it till her death, at the age of ninety, in 1669. She was a great benefactor to the parish, and her monument is still to be seen in the church. Meanwhile, the whole manor was divided amongst various owners. Drury Lane commemorates the Drury family, whose town house was at

* “1641. Paid to a poor woman that was brought to bed in the Cage 2s. For a shroud for a poor woman that died in the Cage 2s. 6d.” Dobie, p. 126.

† See vol. i., chap. vii.

the Strand end of that thoroughfare. Great Wild Street bears a name corrupted from that of the family of Weld of Lulworth, who had long a residence here, in what was called the Aldwych, or Oldwick, an open space. Part of the name still survives in Wych Street. The south-eastern corner of the parish abutted on Temple Bar, and comprised what was known as Ficket's Field, the jousting ground of the Templars. It is now the so-called "Carey Street site" of the New Law Courts.

Lincoln's Inn Fields were also in the manor, and chiefly claim notice here because the "square," though an oblong, is said to equal the area covered by the Great Pyramid of Geezeh. It was laid out, and one side, the western, built by Inigo Jones, parts of whose buildings still remain. The most beautiful of his houses which are now to be seen in St. Giles's form two shops on the southern side of Great Queen Street, near the Freemasons' Tavern—probably part of a residence he is known to have built here for lord Herbert of Cherbury, about the year 1610.* The area of Lincoln's Inn Fields is always sacred to the memory of William, lord Russell, who was beheaded there in 1683. Other executions of state criminals had taken place here, as that of Babington and his six companions, in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and, probably, lord Cobham, two hundred and fifty years before.

The parcelling out of a manor among a number of owners has always led to the same bad results. St. Giles's was long and is still, to some extent, another word for

* There are views of these houses and others in Parton's 'St. Giles,' as well as some highly fanciful bird's-eye views and maps of the parish. See curious notice of Parton in Smith's 'Book for a Rainy Day,' p. 180.

an assembly of miserable tenements and poverty-stricken tenants. Lisson Grove, which we shall shortly have occasion to notice more at length, though situated between four of the most wealthy and fashionable of our western suburbs, offers another example. It is interesting to contrast the history of St. George's, the northern half of the prebendal manor of Rugmere, with that of its less fortunate if more interesting neighbour. Much has been done of late years to purge St. Giles's, but only with the result of driving the lowest class into other and remoter dens. Changing the names of streets will not of itself improve their character, yet, until the Peabody Gift, little attention was paid by those in authority to the necessity of providing the poor with suitable houses. In St. Giles's, what with the continuation of "New" Oxford Street east from Tottenham Court Road to Holborn, the widening of Old Belton Street, and its change into Endell Street, connecting Broad Street and Long Acre; what with the change of Queen Street into Museum Street, and Dyott Street into George Street, and Brewer Street into Thorney Street, and many other alterations of the kind, it would puzzle any one who knew it at the beginning of the present reign to recognise it now. Its local associations are in many places obliterated; but Bowl Alley yet preserves the memory of the convict's last drink as he went up the long hill to Tyburn. The grave is still pointed out where Derwentwater's headless body reposed for a time before its removal to Dilston; * and the register reminds us that it was in the parish of St. Giles that the Great Plague of 1665 originated.

The contrast between the fates of Bloomsbury and St. Giles is like that which Hood draws between Margaret

* It has lately been removed to Thorndon in Essex.

and Peggy.* At first, for a short time, Bloomsbury was a "noble" suburb, then it became "respectable," and respectable it has remained. While it was "noble," a few great mansions with extensive pleasure grounds, connected by country lanes, and separated by dairy farms and tile-roofed cottages, existed, instead of the squalid lanes and courts with which already St. Giles's was filled. Nearest to the great western thoroughfare was Montagu House, erected by Hooke for the first Duke of Montagu, "after the French manner." It was burnt down in 1686, when, as lady Rachel Russell relates in one of her delightful letters, the westerly wind carried sparks and flames to the neighbouring Southampton House, and endangered its inmates, lady Rachel herself and her son, the second duke of Bedford, then a child. Montagu House was rebuilt, but only partially inhabited, and the duke's coheirs joined in selling it to the nation at the moderate price of 10,000*l.*, for the reception of the Sloane collection. The last remains of the old house, with its pointed roofs, its deep cornices, its double lodges, and other quaint and picturesque appendages, "after the French manner," were removed in 1845. Two years later the portico of the new museum was finished.

The growth of the collections in the British Museum has been very rapid. Montagu House was first employed in 1753, when room had to be found for the library and curiosities of Sir Hans Sloane, who directed his executors to ask the merely nominal price of 20,000*l.* for them. This sum was raised by a lottery, and a

* "While Margaret charmed by the bulbul rare in a garden of Gul
reposes—

Poor Peggy hawks nosegays from street to street
Till—think of it ye who find life so sweet!—
She hates the smell of roses!"

(*Miss Kilmansegg and her Golden Leg*, p. 6.)

member of Sir Hans Sloane's family has ever since sat on the board of trustees. In fact the museum is, like most institutions of the kind in England, more or less a private enterprise : but a large number of public functionaries are trustees by virtue of their office. The purchase of the Harleian manuscripts, also for a nominal sum, and the gift by George II. of the library which successive kings of England had accumulated, to the number of about twenty-eight thousand printed or written volumes, raised the library to a position of great importance. The new buildings were commenced soon after the beginning of the present century, and the acquisition of the Elgin marbles for so small a sum as 35,000*l.* drew popular attention to the museum, which immediately became an object of pride to every Englishman. Yet with characteristic parsimony, the authorities have never seen fit to provide these matchless sculptures with any better pedestals than the wooden cases in which they came from Greece.

The first great Egyptian acquisition consisted in the objects taken with the French army in 1801. A grant was obtained from Parliament to provide accommodation for them, and in 1804 the Rosetta stone and several great sarcophagi were exhibited. Naturally, the French Egyptologists * not only ignore the fact that the Rosetta stone is in the British Museum, but also forget that the earliest success in reading the hieroglyphic characters was obtained by a London physician named Young, who made out some of the proper names on the stone, but owing to the pressure of professional duties, did not pursue his studies further. The researches of Sir Gar-

* M. Pierret, in his 'Dictionnaire Archéologique,' for example, and later, M. Fontane, in 'Les Egyptes,' are prominent examples of this silly jealousy, so unworthy of a great nation.

diner Wilkinson, a little later, if they did not add much to our knowledge, at least added largely to the number of Egyptian objects, many of them, no doubt, worthless, since we do not know whence they came, or, consequently, to what period they belong. But undoubtedly, except in monuments of the early or pyramid period, the British Museum ranks high as regards its Egyptian collections, and especially papyrus rolls. The Assyrian and Babylonian, and the coin and Greek vase collections are unquestionably the best in any contemporary museum, but owing to faults of system or of management, or of economy, there are several departments still sadly deficient. Among these must be mentioned that of ancient jewelry, and that of medieval and oriental armour.

The zoological section has hitherto been most ridiculously mixed up with the various departments of antiquities. The stuffed beasts and birds and other objects of the kind are shortly to migrate to a building erected for them, unfortunately on a very remote and in many respects inconvenient site. Some of the most important parts of the collection will then for the first time become visible to such of the general public as have leisure to visit this distant suburb by daylight. An adequate print-room, and an exhibition of drawings by the great masters are still badly wanted. It is not generally known that the British nation is possessed of the finest collection in the world of these priceless works: and certainly, as a recent writer observes, no other nation would keep them concealed.

The present building is imposing in character: but where space was of such value, it was ridiculous both to set it so far back from the street front, and to spend space and money on a perfectly useless peristyle. The Ionic columns are so tall that they do not protect the

passenger from the rain, nor are they ever wanted to shield him from the sunshine, but they were erected in the height of the Grecian fashion, and give the building a certain dignity wanting both to the National Gallery, the South Kensington Museum, and the New Museum of Natural History, with which they obviously compete. It is a pity that the offer at a moderate price said to have been made by the duke of Bedford of the day, of the houses between the Museum and Oxford Street, was not accepted. It would certainly be interesting, to say the least, to be able to get Hawksmoor's church and Smirke's portico into one view.

Southampton House, with its great garden, stood where now the northern side of Bloomsbury Square gives entrance to Bedford Place. It was built when Bedford House in the Strand was removed, and stood not quite a hundred years, for in 1800 it was pulled down, dismantled, and the contents sold. Evelyn says it contained a pretty cedar chapel, but was too low, and the garden too bare. Between the northern end of the garden and the distant hills of Hampstead and Highgate there was, in those days, but little to catch the eye, and that little not of a very attractive kind. A few hundred yards off was a chimney-sweeper's cottage, and where is now Little Guildford Street, Baltimore House, the residence of a nobleman, whose character was such that when, in 1768, he was tried for the forcible abduction and ill-treatment of an unfortunate young milliner named Woodcock, he only escaped owing to "an informality in Miss Woodcock's deposition, arising evidently from the agitation of her mind." The surroundings of this amiable earl's residence were not incongruous. The Long Fields, as they were called, which stretched away to the northward and westward, were famous as a meeting-place for ducl-

lists, and a "resort of depraved wretches, whose amusements consisted chiefly in fighting pitched battles and other disorderly sports, especially on the Sabbath day."* At the north-east end of what is now Upper Montagu Street was the "Forty Footsteps Field," celebrated by Miss Porter as the scene of a sanguinary encounter between two brothers in whose tracks no grass would grow. This superstition is frequently alluded to by writers of the end of the eighteenth century, and one of them records regretfully his last visit, in 1800, before bricks and mortar finally covered the haunted site.

The tide of bricks and mortar overwhelmed Bloomsbury with remarkable rapidity. Though the north side of Queen Square is said to have been left open, in order that the distant view of the hills might not be interrupted, the building speculators,† who, about 1792, commenced operations here, contrived within a period of eleven years to add no fewer than 1198 houses to the parish, for Bloomsbury had now become a parish of itself, being furnished with one of the fifty new churches built under the Act of 1710. There was already a chapel in Queen Square—distinguished as St. George the Martyr; the greater part of the parish afterwards annexed to it being taken not out of St. Giles's, but St. Andrew's, Holborn.

* Dobie, p. 176. He adds some interesting particulars of "The former residence of the illustrious martyr of liberty, Lord William Russell" (*sic*). His account is quoted without acknowledgment by almost every writer on Bloomsbury and its associations.

† The greatest of these speculators was James Burton, whose villa in the Regent's Park is figured in Britton and Pugin (p. 88, vol. i.), and who from small beginnings acquired an immense fortune while still comparatively young. He devoted the remainder of his life to getting rid of it, his prudence not having been nourished by success, and in various schemes more or less hazardous he contrived to reduce himself to a competence. He is commemorated in Burton Crescent; but to his son, Decimus, who survived till 1881, modern London is indebted for some of its best, as well as some of its worst, architectural effects.

The new church of St. George, Bloomsbury, was built on a site granted or sold by lady Rachel Russell, and known as Plough Yard. Hawksmoor's design has been ridiculed so long that even now, when the lions and unicorns have descended from their giddy perch at the feet of King George near the summit of the steeple, it requires some hardihood to praise it. Yet, since some houses on the north and east sides have been pulled down, and a view opened of the body of the church, I must confess that to my eyes it is exceedingly picturesque; while the magnificent portico, and the quaint spire, an avowed copy from the classical descriptions of the Mausoleum, form a group only rivalled by St. Martin's in the Fields. Had St. Martin's a steeple at the side, instead of over the portico, it might compete more successfully with St. George's. The statue of the king on the summit is undoubtedly an absurdity, and gave rise to many an epigram and scornful jest. Walpole "wonders how the devil they got there," speaking of the now deposed supporters. "The king of Great Britain," said another rhymer, "was reckoned the head of the Church by all Protestants, but in Bloomsbury he was head of the steeple as well"; and a variation, quoted by Cunningham, alludes to Henry VIII., who "left the pope in the lurch."

Unlike St. Giles's, the parochial history of St. George's is of the most uneventful kind, but it would be easy to compile long lists of eminent inhabitants: literary, legal, and artistic people have crowded its precincts. Lord Mansfield lived in Southampton Square when his library was burnt by the Gordon rioters in 1780. Charles Dickens had a house in Tavistock Square for many years. Sir Antonio Panizzi lived almost in sight of his beloved museum. Among the very earliest tenants of the district as it was seen by Evelyn, when he called it a noble piazza and a

little town, was Richard Baxter, whose wife "entered into the saints' everlasting rest" here in 1681. Dr. Dodd, celebrated for his sermons and his forgery, was an "eminent inhabitant," as was the victim of his fraud, Lord Chesterfield. Bloomsbury retains its respectability to the present day. Rugmere has vanished; St. Giles's has lost caste; but Bloomsbury is prebendal still.

The fate of the other prebendal manors was very similar. In St. Pancras there was, at the time of the Domesday survey, a separate manor, held, like St. Pancras itself, by a canon of St. Paul's. This was, in all probability, the same which, passing into the hands of the Cantlo or Cantilupe family, acquired its name, and as Cantlers, with the further corruption of Kentish Town, subsists still. It is now subject, it is said, to a nominal rent to the prebendary, but is practically the property of the Pratt family, having come to Charles Pratt, earl Camden, by his marriage with the daughter and coheir of Nicholas Jeffreys, about the middle of the last century. Somers Town, another "hamlet" of St. Pancras, is, similarly, the property of the family of which earl Somers is the head.

The old church of St. Pancras was one of the most typical of Middlesex churches—small, low, mean, but ancient: built originally, no doubt, of wood, mended and patched with a little freestone begged from the builders of St. Paul's, added to when there came to be a few more parishioners, discarded for a mock Grecian temple in the City Road, and finally rebuilt in 1848 in an absurd Norman style under the name of restoration. It is now almost surrounded with a vast network of railways, and its churchyard and the adjoining cemetery belonging to St. Giles's are turned into an ornamental garden; yet a

visit to Old St. Pancras is not without interest. There is a tradition which should not be passed by without notice, that St. Pancras was the mother church of St. Paul's : a reference probably to the old chapel of St. Pancras at Canterbury, in which the first Christian mass in England was celebrated by St. Austin.* There is another tradition to the effect that the mass was sung here later than in any other church after its abolition by Henry VIII., and the lonely situation of the church then and later favours its truth. Writing soon after, Norden says, "Pancras Church standeth all alone, as utterly forsaken, old and weatherbeaten." He adds that folks from Kennistonne (Kentish Town) now and then visit it, but not often, having a chapel of their own. Till very lately, service was only performed in the old church once a month, and on other days at the Kentish Town chapel.

The church contains few monuments of interest, but a broken canopy remains of the tombs of the Greys, lords of Portpoole, who are also commemorated in the name of Gray's Inn. The churchyard was long a favourite burial-place for Roman Catholics, for which several reasons were assigned, one being that at a church dedicated to the same saint in France, masses were celebrated for the repose of the dead buried here. Three of the monuments may be noticed. One marks the grave of Mary Woolstonecraft Godwin, who died in Somers Town in 1797. Another, dated 1805, is sacred to the memory of Walker, author of the 'Pronouncing Dictionary.' It has been "restored" at the expense of lady Burdett Coutts, and stands in a distant part of the ground, approached under a railway arch. In a

* See Britton and Pugin, 'Edifices of London,' i. 146. The chapel of St. Pancras at Canterbury was a pig-stye when I last visited its venerable and sacred ruins.

prominent situation is the entrance to the vault of Sir John Soane, his wife and his son.*

The new parish church is in the Euston Road, and was extravagantly admired when it was built in 1822. It was one of the first results of the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles in 1816. The world of taste was absorbed in imitating Greek art. The publication of several books on the ruins of Athens, and especially the magnificent folios of Stuart and Revett, fired the ardour of architects. Wren was discarded as completely as gothic, and the new church of St. Pancras was designed as a gigantic imitation—with improvements—of a little building on the hill of the Acropolis. The improvements consisted in making the design uniform, in adding a tower, and in projecting a semicircular apse from the eastern end. The futility of attempting to use a Greek temple for modern religious purposes is perhaps better exemplified in this than in any other of the numerous designs of the kind which sprung up in all directions. The Inwoods, who furnished the design, made the tower to consist of a series of circular temples set one above the other, without meaning or purpose, except to attain an elevation of 200 feet. A caryatid portico exactly balanced by another, and neither having any use, complete a church as absurdly unsuitable as any in London for the ordinary purposes of Protestant worship. No one thinks of using Greek temples as churches now, but we still try to build in the gothic of the thirteenth century. The new parish church at Kensington is another example of failure, and for the same reason as the new church of St. Pancras. Sooner or later reflecting and painstaking architects will have to fall back on the principles of Wren, if not upon the style he preferred : but so far they have

* ‘Epitaphs of Middlesex,’ by F. T. Cansick.

found it easier to take some classical building for abject reproduction, or else to try, in the nineteenth century, and with all the conditions altered, to imitate the comparative irregularity of the middle ages. The new church of St. Pancras, in short, is only a degree more instructive than the still newer old church, because the gothic architect has put no mind into his work, while the imitators of the Erechtheum at least did what was thought the best at the time.

Tottenham, the manor house of which was at the head of Tottenham Court Road, where the entrance-gate posts are still visible, is mentioned as Totehele in Domesday ; and has been leased and re-leased till the original owner is forgotten. The first lessee whose name I have met is John de Caleton, in 1343. Charles II., to whom the lease had come, gave it, in satisfaction of a debt, to Sir Henry Wood, in 1661. Soon after, it was the property of lady Arlington, whose daughter, the duchess of Grafton, next held it.* Her descendant, lord Southampton, is the present owner ; and his family and titles are commemorated by Fitzroy Square and other local names well known to artists.

Fitzroy Square seems to lie out of the usual thoroughfares, and is forgotten by the regular sightseer. It was begun in or about 1790, and the two sides completed are a very happy example of the skill and taste of the Adam brothers. The north and west sides were not finished when the peace came, and with it a reaction in prices which put a stop to many schemes more ambitious than the building of Fitzroy Square ; it retains a strangely

* Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, one of the Cabal ministry, had an only daughter, lady Isabella, who married the first duke of Grafton, the son of Barbara, duchess of Cleveland, by, as was reputed, king Charles II.

double aspect of squalor and magnificence. Tottenhall, or Tottenham Court, long a noted tavern, with tea-gardens of doubtful repute adjoining, was, until the middle of the last century, quite as suburban as Fulham is now; and another public-house, at the next corner beyond the Tabernacle, was reputed even sixty or seventy years ago "the last house in London."* The neighbourhood has not profited so much as some others from being the property of a noble family, and cannot be said ever to have been in fashion, though Whitefield, the preacher, drew great people out of town to hear him, and Tottenham Court Chapel, which he built, remained for many years a very prominent memorial of the success of his ministry. In it were buried two men remarkable in their several ways, Toplady, the author of "Rock of Ages," and Bacon, the sculptor. But the restless vulgarity which has modernised, be-plastered and be-stuccoed Whitefield's simple and picturesque octagon is sad as well as disgusting.

It would be easy to fill a volume with the history of the prebendal manors of St. Paul's; but we may pass on now to notice the next parish westward of Tottenhall. Here we have no longer the canons of St. Paul's, but do not find that other owners managed much better. There is probably no district of suburban London which has undergone greater vicissitudes of condition, ownership, and even name, than Tyburn.

As we drive along the crowded and busy Oxford Street, leaving on our left the end of Bond Street, we descend a slight slope before we pass Stratford Place on our right. The slope, it is easy to see, was not always so slight, and the lanes on either hand lead down at a steep incline. At two corners, on the north side, we perceive the

* Hone, 'Year Book,' Thackeray's 'Virginians,' ii. 228.

same name, Marylebone Lane. It seems to be divided into two branches, embracing a triangular piece of ground. It is not easy at the present day to realise that once a lonely road between grass meadows here dipped into a hollow, and crossed a brawling brook by a bridge under the shadow of a little country church. Whether or no the division of the double lane betokens a similar division of the brook, along whose banks it ran, and so gives us a clue to the name, it is at least certain that at the end of the fourteenth century Tyburn already bore an evil reputation, a reputation not, we may be sure, improved when "gentle Mortimer" and his companion were brought for execution to the bleak heath on the hill beyond in 1330. The little church was St. John's, Tyburn. Twice over it was robbed by marauders, who escaped in security owing to the remoteness of the situation : and, in 1400, Robert Braybrook, bishop of London, gave leave to have it removed and a new church, nearer the village, and half-a-mile higher up the bourne, built and consecrated as St. Mary's, so-called, of course, from the abbey of St. Mary of Barking, by which the manor was owned. There were already close by the churches of St. Mary Abbots, St. Mary, Islington, and others ; so this was distinguished as St. Mary "le bourne." The vestry-room still remains near the site of St. John's. When the present parochial offices were erected in 1829, on a spot which had formerly been the parish pound, bones and other signs of interment were erroneously attributed, not to the former existence of the graveyard, but to that of the gibbet.

The name Tyburn has not been explained. I have hazarded a guess above as to its possible origin, but am far from thinking it more than a possibility. In an ancient charter at Westminster we find the earliest form

of the word. This is a deed of gift or confirmation to the Abbey, and though not contemporary, may contain a correct copy of the boundaries of St. Margaret's. It purports to be dated in 951, and to confirm a grant made by Offa. Tyburn is called in it "Teoburne." Mr. Waller derives the name from the division of its later course into two streams.* In Domesday it is Tiburne, and "always lay, and lies, in the church of Barking"; that is, it belonged from time immemorial to the abbey at that place. It was then, and long after, wholly agricultural. There was pasture for cattle, and woods of beech or oak for the feeding of pigs. In the time of the Confessor it had been worth a hundred shillings, but was now valued at fifty.

Such was Tyburn at the Norman Conquest. The brook from which the name was derived divided it from the manor of Lylleston, or Lisson, the second portion of the same parish. Its course may easily be traced still in the windings of Marylebone Lane, which probably marks the site of an ancient village on the left, or eastern bank. I have already endeavoured, with the help of Mr. Waller's map and description, to show what that course was with respect to the modern conditions.†

When St. John's church was removed and St. Mary's built, the village, so to speak, turned its back on the *Via Dolorosa* of the gallows, and dropping the old name became known by that of the new church, a name it has borne ever since. Henceforth Tyburn was identified with the gallows, and moved with them further and further west, until at length they rested finally near the modern site of the Marble Arch, while the thoroughfare

* J. G. Waller, 'The Tybourne and the Westbourne,' read before the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society.

† See vol. i. chap. i.

we call Oxford Street was the Tyburn Road, and Park Lane, which led up from Westminster, was Tyburn Lane.

The corporation of London acquired, by lease or otherwise, some fields on either side of the brook, near the spot at which Oxford Street is crossed. As early as 1237 leave was obtained by Gilbert Sandford to convey water to the city from Tyburn in leaden pipes.* Here, in 1239, water-pipes were laid down, and as many as nine "conduits" or reservoirs † were dotted about on the neighbouring slopes. At an annual visit the mayor and aldermen inspected their springs, and a dinner, without which no civic occasion would have been complete, was eaten in a banqueting-house erected on the site of Stratford Place. On the 18th September, 1562, for example, we read in Strype that the lord mayor, aldermen, and many worshipful persons attended to see the conduit heads; then, turning aside into the wild woodland of Marylebone, they hunted a hare; next they dined, and after dinner hunted a fox, when "there was great cry for a mile, and at length the hounds killed him at the end of St. Giles's, with great hollowing and blowing of horns at his death."

The introduction of the New River in 1600 rendered Tyburn water unnecessary to the city, and before the middle of the century the conduits were leased away. The suburbs north of the Strand had by this time grown large enough to require a regular supply, and a comparatively large reservoir for the districts about Covent

* Waller, *ut supra*.

† It is often stated that Conduit Street takes its name from one of these reservoirs. This must be an error. Water does not usually run up hill. If there was a conduit and a conduit mead here they must have belonged to a different system—perhaps for the supply of St. James's or Westminster.

Garden was established on the site afterwards covered by Portland Chapel.* The old cisterns, in 1737, were no longer wanted, and were arched over. The banqueting-house was pulled down, and its site let on lease. Edward Stratford, afterwards earl of Aldborough, took the ground and projected a magnificent architectural scheme: but only Stratford Place itself was built, and even that was not completed for many years. The banqueting-house stood near the highway in Mill Hill Field,† and we hear of a lonely tavern, where now Welbeck Street joins Wigmore Street, at which pedestrians stopped to look to their pistols before crossing the fields to the village of "Lisson Green." Stratford Place, commenced in 1744, was not finished for about half a century. General Strode, an eccentric soldier who set a statue of the duke of Cumberland in Cavendish Square, placed a column opposite Aldborough House to "commemorate the naval victories of Great Britain," with a magniloquent inscription, in which a hope is expressed that the column may stand for ever, "in secula stet," and the glory of Britain increase. In 1805 the foundations gave way and the perennial monument was removed, having stood just six years.

The building of Stratford Place, which stands partly across the brook, caused various complications: and to this day Henrietta Street, Cavendish Square, runs up to the back of the houses on the east side, and begins again to the west.

When Pennant‡ speaks of a certain Mr. St. John

* Built in 1766, but not consecrated until 1831.

† There is still a Mill Hill Place, a lane off Wimpole Street; the real conduit mead was on the other side of the brook in Lylleston, and will be noticed further on.

‡ Pennant's 'Account,' p. 126.

Mildmay, who remembered having shot a woodcock on the site of Conduit Street, he is probably mistaken in referring to the neighbourhood of Bond Street, but there is little now to remind us of green fields or running water in either place. Every few years one of the walled-up cisterns is discovered under the foundations of old houses. A stone used to mark the site of one near the point at which Marylebone Lane crosses Wigmore Street; another was found as far off as the top of North Audley Street in 1875, and was pronounced Roman by the wiseacres of the "silly season." A third was found in Davies Street not long ago, and two are said to exist still in the cellars of Aldborough House.

The abbess of Barking emulated the prebendaries of St. Paul's in her care to lease away her estate. Early in the thirteenth century we find Robert de Vere in possession of Tyburn. His daughter carried it to the earls of Warren and Surrey, from whom it passed to their heirs, the earls of Arundel. On the death of Richard Fitzalan, fourth earl, in 1397, it was partitioned among his coheirs. Some of the best families in England seem to have had a share in the newly-named St. Marylebone. Berkeleys, Neviles, and Howards divided three-quarters of it, and one quarter seems to have gone to Henry V., as heir of the earls of Derby. About the end of the fifteenth century, however, three of the four were united by Thomas Hobson, who bought them up one by one.

I should like to know something more about Thomas Hobson. When I come to speak of the adjoining manor of Lyllestion I shall have occasion to mention him or his son and namesake again. At one time he seems to have owned an estate which stretched from the Edgware Road to Rathbone Place, an estate which, at the present day, would have made him one of the richest subjects in

Europe. He might have founded a great ducal family. I dare say his descendants are still extant. Perhaps one of them was the Cambridge carrier whose dog is celebrated for his pride. Perhaps another, or the same, offered undergraduates Hobson's choice of horses. The name is not more ignoble than that of Smithson, and might have been improved. It is nearly as good as Ogle, or Holles. It is full as old as Cavendish. We shall meet with several of these names among the ducal owners of Tyburn : but not with that of Hobson, for his son, in 1544, exchanged the manor with Henry VIII. for lands elsewhere, and the Hobson family sank once more into its pristine obscurity.

Queen Elizabeth let the lands of Tyburn, first to one lessee then to another, at a rental of 16*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*, and in 1611, James I. sold them to Edward Forset, one of queen Elizabeth's tenants, for 829*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Forset's daughter and coheiress was Arabella, wife of Thomas Austen, and in 1710 Sir John Austen, her son, sold Tyburn, or Marylebone, to John Holles, duke of Newcastle, for 17,500*l.* The rental had by this time increased to 900*l.* a year : being about the rental of a single house in Cavendish Square at the present day. In all these transactions Marylebone Park was specially reserved by the crown. A number of sub-leases fell in about the end of the last century, and the suggestion of John White, the architect of the Portland estate, that the park, which was then half farm, half village-common, subject to encroachments and all the usual forms of ill-usage, should be taken up and properly laid out, was acted upon, with the fine expanse of the Regent's Park as a result. Some of the minor leaseholders are commemorated by street names, as Peter Hinde, who farmed the park in 1754. There were three separate farms,

and the last of the leases, which had been purchased by the duke of Portland, did not fall in till 1811. Foley House, the residence of lord Foley, who projected a mansion on such a scale that the two stone houses on the north side of Cavendish Square are said to have been intended for lodges, stopped the way from Regent Street to the new park, and caused the laying out of Portland Place at its present extravagant width of 120 feet in order not to interrupt the view. The Langham Hotel, built on the site of Foley House, has fallen heir to this advantageous situation. Foley Street, originally Ogle Street, having fallen into disrepute, has become Langham Street.

But by far the largest part of the old manor is that which Sir John Austen sold to the duke of Newcastle. Here and there the duke's successors made additional purchases, and at the beginning of the present century the estate extended from Primrose Hill to Oxford Street; and from the brook, at Marylebone Lane, with the short interruption of the city conduit estate, eastward to Hanway Court. In shape, therefore, it is something like a T reversed, and comprises almost every possible variety of town residence, from palaces to tenements.

The duke of Newcastle was illustrious chiefly for his wealth in days when wealth meant political power and social advancement. He is buried in the statesmen's transept in Westminster Abbey, under a cenotaph by Gibbs which is well worthy of his architectural fame. Gibbs himself, who better deserved Westminster Abbey, is buried in the little church which was then deemed sufficient for the inhabitants of the duke's great manor. The duke's titles and offices are set forth at considerable length on his monument, but the cause of them all is

only alluded to—"His personal merit gave a lustre that needed not the addition of the great wealth he possessed." Burnet calls him "the richest subject that had been in the kingdom for some ages," and it must be allowed that his daughter, "the lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley," as she describes herself, spared no expense on the sculpture.

Lady Henrietta was his only child, and on his death, in 1711, inherited Tyburn. The same year her husband, by the elevation of his father, Robert Harley, to the earldoms of Oxford and Mortimer, became lord Harley, and in 1724 succeeded him in the higher titles.

Within the last few years a quaint if not very beautiful memorial of this second earl, Edward, and his rich wife, has been removed. The vane of the central building of Oxford Market bore their initials, and the date 1721. Oxford Mansion, a series of flats, occupies the site now. The northern row of houses in the Tyburn Road was completed the year after lord Oxford succeeded to his father's title, and the new thoroughfare was named in his honour, Oxford Street. It then extended from Marylebone Lane to Tottenham Court Road, or exactly from one end to the other of the manor of Tyburn. "New" Oxford Street was made through the "rookeries" thirty years ago, but in Bloomsbury, and serves to connect the older part of the road with Holborn by a more direct course than that through High Street, St. Giles's. Finally, the western part of the street—from Marylebone Lane to the foot of Edgware Road—leading through the manor of Lylleston, was completed, and after having long been Oxford Road, became a street also.*

* Rathbone Place was built by Captain Rathbone, a lessee, in 1718 : and is so dated on a stone at the south-eastern corner.

Like his father, earl Edward was a great collector of old books. The Harleian MSS. seem never to have been kept in the manor-house of St. Marylebone, as some have asserted. In fact, I do not think the Holles or Harley family ever lived in the manor-house. It stood near the top of High Street, and was occupied by the lessee for the time being of the park farms. The gardens were celebrated for their beauty, and formed a public resort as early as the time of Pepys, who praises them ; but in the time of Gay they had already acquired a doubtful reputation. Yet here some of Handel's music was performed for the first time. A letter, quoted by Thomas Smith,* contains an amusing anecdote, in which the great composer appears in a more amiable light than usual. He was walking in the gardens with an old clergyman named Fountayne, who lived at that time in the manor-house, when the band struck up a new piece. "Come," said Handel, "let us sit down and listen to this piece, I want to know your opinion of it." After some time Mr. Fountayne observed, "It is not worth listening to; it's very poor stuff." "You are right, Mr. Fountayne," said Handel, "it is very poor stuff—I thought so myself when I had finished it." On the site of the gardens stands Beaumont Street, and near it, in High Street, is a large furniture repository. This was the library of the Harley family.

This celebrated collection was the result of perseverance and liberality exerted by the two first earls during a long series of years. The second earl, in particular, spared neither pains nor expense in its formation and that he was no mere collector of the kind fashionable a century later may be judged from his letters to the agents adroad and at home who found him treasures, as

* Smith's 'Parish of St. Marylebone,' p. 33.

well as from the notes which still remain in so many of the books. Great as the collection was, and priceless as it would be now, the trustees of the British Museum acquired it for 10,000*l.*, and the arms of the Harleys, with their angelic supporters, are familiar to thousands who have cause to remember gratefully the husband of the heiress of St. Marylebone.

Her only daughter, Margaret, married William Bentinck, second duke of Portland, and the present duke is the owner of the estate.

The wife of John Holles, duke of Newcastle, was an heiress of the Cavendishes of Welbeck. The Harleys were originally of Wigmore Castle. We are thus furnished with a clue to the names of the streets in the eastern part of the parish. Henrietta and Margaret Streets are called after the successive heiresses ; Welbeck and Wigmore Streets after their country seats ; Harley and Holles Streets after their fortunate husbands. Oxford Square has become Cavendish Square.

One street, the least and latest named of all, deserves a separate notice. Edward Gibbon's house, in 1776, was in Bentinck Street : he dates the preface to the 'Decline and Fall' June 1st, in that year, from No. 7, which, in a letter to his friend, lord Sheffield, he calls "the best house in the world." His library was at the back, as we gather from an expression in another letter. Writing from Lausanne, he says his books have been arranged in a room "full as good as that in Bentinck Street, with this difference, indeed, that instead of looking on a stone court twelve feet square, I command an unbounded prospect."

The western manor of this great parish, like the eastern, was, at the time of the Domesday Survey, in religious hands. It is enumerated among lands given in

alms, "in elemosina data," when it was held by a lady named Eideva. It had belonged T.R.E. to Edward, the son of Suain, a vassal of the king. As early as 1338 it was in the possession of the Knights of St. John at Clerkenwell, and contained, as we are told,* twenty acres of meadow and a hundred acres of wood, the rest, we may infer, being barren heath or furze. Even so late as two centuries ago it was almost bare of houses, except near the middle, where Lisson—properly Lytleston—Green closely adjoined Paddington, and both formed a kind of village on the Edgware Road. Sir William of Clyf held it from the Hospitallers, and paid 10*l.* a year rent. He had a villa on it, and probably hawked and hunted, and drew the long bow in the forest, as freely as if St. John's Wood was a hundred miles from London. His house was probably on the spot centuries later covered by the manor-house, now converted into Queen Charlotte's Hospital. We hear no more of Lytleston for a century and a half; but in the meantime the gallows had travelled out from Tyburn and were probably well established at the south-western corner of the estate, or opposite the modern site of the Marble Arch; for in 1512, when the lord prior Thomas Docwra, granted a lease for fifty years to John and Johan Blennerhasset, at least two gibbets are mentioned. The farm thus granted for fifty years was exactly co-terminous with the present Portman estate. Lisson Green, Lisson Grove, and St. John's Wood were not included in it: but we have a list of the fields which is

* Hospitallers, Camden Soc., 1857, by Lambert B. Larking. So completely had the name of Lytleston fallen into oblivion, that Mr. Larking, in his index, adds "query Littleton?" and makes no attempt to identify it with Tyburn.

very interesting to the modern topographer.* These lands had been in the occupation of Thomas Hobson, and were let for 8*l.* a year. The names of the fields are most valuable. From them we learn not only that people were hanged here, but that they were hanged in chains : that the district was used for field sports : that much of it was under wood, and some of it bushy. Such was the corner farm on which many of the best streets in London now stand. It comprised in all about 270 acres, and may be reckoned one of the wealthiest estates in England. The exact situation of the six fields can no longer be ascertained, but we cannot be far wrong in supposing that the gibbets stood near the highway, perhaps between Quebec Street and Orchard Street, and the "Furzes" and "Haws," near a depression, formerly, perhaps, almost a ravine, which crosses behind Montagu House, and runs parallel to Upper Berkeley Street, a little to the northward.

As we have seen already Thomas Hobson missed his chances of founding a great family but they were eagerly seized on by chief justice Portman, who, in 1532, bought from the executors of the Blennerhassets the reversion of their house, and afterwards, in the reign of queen Mary, obtained the land in fee simple.

To trace the further descent to the present owners would be but tedious, except in so far as it explains the street nomenclature of the district. The male line terminated with a grandson of Sir William Portman, and the estate went to one of the Seymours, a descendant of the

* Among them were Great Gibbet Field, Little Gibbet Field, Hawkfield, Brockstand, Tassal Croft, Boys Croft, Furze Croft, and Shepcott Haws. Each of these names has its meaning. Hawkfield and Tassel Croft refer to falconry. Boys is, of course, the French *bois*, a wood. Shepcott is a fold. Brockstand is the badger's stane or stone. The rest are obvious.

great Protector. It reverted, however, eventually, to William Berkeley, whose mother, a Speke, had been a niece of the last Portman. Thus we have Berkeley Street, Seymour Street, and Portman Square. From Orchard Portman, in Somerset, and Bryanstone, in Dorset, we get another batch of names, while two Quebec Streets and two Adam Streets* furnish us with the general date of the buildings (1759), and the name of the architects.

The farm in the occupation of Sir William of Clyf was at least double the size of that which was rented by Thomas Hobson, who, in fact, had only the south-western corner, which was all he transmitted to his successors the Portmans. The rest of Clyf's leasehold comprised at least four later holdings, all of which must be mentioned. The Eyre estate, partly on the slope of Hampstead Hill, but chiefly within the manor of Lylleston, consisting of 340 acres, was granted by Charles II. in satisfaction of a debt to lord Wotton. Another estate, lying along the Edgware Road, was bequeathed by John Lyon to Harrow School. A third was that portion of the City Conduit estate, which lay on the western side of the brook. This was the real "Conduit Mead," to which I referred above. It was long the property of a family named Edwardes, and from its interrupting the communication east and west between the Cavendish Square and Portman Square districts is frequently mentioned in the parish annals. By the threat of an Act of Parliament, the tenant was eventually brought to reason, and Wigmore Street was continued as Edwardes Street,† Lower Seymour Street, the south side of Portman Square, and Upper Seymour Street to

* One now re-named Seymour Place.

† Now merged in Lower Seymour Street.

Edgware Road. This was about 1780, and the neighbouring Manchester Square was completed about the same time. The Spanish chapel close by was built for the accommodation of the Spanish ambassador, who rented Manchester House;* and the spiritual wants of the parishioners of all denominations are well supplied, so far as church room is concerned.

The church of the whole parish of St. Marylebone, removed from the lonely corner at Tyburn, was planted in High Street, and still, substantially, stands, though more or less completely rebuilt at different times, as "the parish chapel." There is not much of the picturesque left in it, but the interior has been immortalised by Hogarth as the scene of the Rake's Marriage. The living went through all the usual vicissitudes, but the abbey of Barking does not seem ever to have held the advowson. At one time it belonged to cardinal Wolsey, at another to Thomas Hobson—who, by the way, paid the clergyman 13 shillings a year—and having eventually come to the Forsets, went at last to the dukes of Portland, and was bought, under an Act of Parliament, by the government in 1821. In 1650 the minister had 15*l.* a year; but as the population increased it is to be hoped the emoluments were higher. A manuscript diary, which occurs appropriately enough among the Harleian Collection, contains a notice of Mr. Randolph Ford, who served the parish between 1711 and 1724, from which it appears that on a single day his duties were as follows:—He began the day by marrying six couples—perhaps Hogarth's Rake among them—then he read service and preached, churching six women afterwards. In the afternoon he read and preached again, but it was not till then that the real work of the day can be said to have

* Now Hertford House, the residence of Sir Richard Wallace.

commenced, for we are told that he christened thirty-two children, six of them at home, and proceeded to bury thirteen corpses, reading the whole service over each of them separately. From his address in the register book it appears that this indefatigable clergyman lived “at the Highlander, Little Suffolk Street, Charing Cross,” and had probably, therefore, a long walk before and after his day’s labours.

In Hogarth’s print a spider has spun a web over the poor-box, and that his view is probably accurate may be judged from his reproduction of the lines by which Edward Forset, whom I have mentioned already more than once, pointed out his burial-place :—

“ THESE : PEWES : VNSCRVD : AND : TAN : IN : SVNDER
IN : STONE : THERS : GRAVEN : WHAT : IS : VNDER
TO : WIT : A : VALT : FOR : BVRIAL : THERE : IS
WHICH : EDWARD : FORSET : MADE : FOR : HIM : AND : HIS.”

The new church was built in 1817, after many delays, and though one contemporary writer calls it “one of the handsomest structures of the kind in the metropolis,” it is eminently commonplace, and not worthy to compare for a moment with Hawksmoor’s long-despised St. George’s. In a century architectural taste had not greatly improved ; but the chapels of ease of this parish, which are older, are not more beautiful. St. Peter’s, Vere Street, formerly Oxford Chapel, had the advantage of Gibbs for its architect, but is a very poor specimen of the “Queen Anne” style ; and is chiefly remarkable now as the scene, for many years, of the labours of Frederick Denison Maurice. The interior has recently been “restored” in the so-called queen Anne style.* The

* This is, I believe, the first application of this style to a purpose for which gothic has so long been used. Quebec Chapel and Brunswick Chapel have been gothicised.

other chapels in the eastern part of the parish are St. James's, in Westmorland Street, formerly Welbeck Chapel ; and St. Paul's, of which I have spoken above. There are modern district churches also, built about the same time as the new St. Marylebone ; and a small chapel situated in Margaret Street, first used in 1789, was on the site of a church now celebrated as one of the most magnificent buildings of its kind in London.

The church of All Souls, Langham Place, has been alternately admired and criticised, till all that can now be said about it is that the design suits the situation admirably, and that if it is absolutely necessary to fit a gothic spire to a heathen temple in order to make a Christian church of it, Nash's very original device will do as well as another. The church was consecrated in 1824.

In the western half of the parish is also a large number of new churches, of which very few require notice. The old chapels, in Baker Street (Portman Chapel), Upper Berkeley Street (Brunswick Chapel), and Quebec Street (Quebec Chapel), are chiefly remarkable for the way in which the interiors have been modernised without undue interference with the original fabric. At Quebec Chapel the overflowing congregations brought together by the late dean Alford and the present bishop (Magee) of Peterborough, are still remembered. St. Thomas's, Orchard Street, is a new and handsome gothic structure, and so is the church in Nutford Place, erected on the site of a cholera hospital, which during the great epidemic of 1849 was never required for the parish, there not having been a single case in St. Marylebone. It is appropriately dedicated to "St. Luke, the beloved physician."

St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, which is now the mother church of this division of the parish, was built by Smirke in 1824, and shows how, with Nash's round temple for a portico, a handsome tower or spire of suitable style may be erected. "Froggy Dibdin," the bibliographer, was the first incumbent.

It would be impossible to make anything like a complete list of the eminent inhabitants of the parish of St. Marylebone. I have already spoken of Gibbon, but he is only one of a large number of literary men who have lived in it at one time or another. Sir Arthur Helps died in Lower Berkeley Street, where he was on a visit, in 1875. Talleyrand once lived in Manchester Square. Mrs. Siddons died in Upper Baker Street, in the last house on the east side, almost facing into Regent's Park. "George Eliot" lived for many years at South Bank. Landseer died at his house in St. John's Wood Road, in 1873. Sir Thomas Picton, who fell at Waterloo, had a house in Edwardes Street.

Of the illustrious dead buried in the old church, I may mention besides James Gibbs, the architect, who died in 1754, Humphrey Wanley, the Harley librarian (d. 1726). Dr. Johnson's friend Baretti (d. 1789), and Charles Wesley, the hymn-writer (d. 1788). In the parish cemetery, Paddington Street, a large number of remarkable people were buried before its final closure : from Canning's father ; Hoyle, who wrote on games ; and "the gallant, good Riou," one of Nelson's captains, killed at Copenhagen ; down to Mr. Rawlinson, "First Master Cook to his most beloved and revered Royal Master, George III.," and Mr. John Castles, "late of the Great Grotto, whose great ingenuity in shell-work gained him universal applause."

If the name of Tyburn can be said to survive at all, it

is in a district far west of the original manor, as I have endeavoured to show. Tyburnia at the present day is the city of palaces north of the park, along the Bayswater Road, and is all within the parish of Paddington. An iron tablet in the park railing facing Edgware Road marks the site of a turnpike, and dates its removal:—“Here stood Tyburn Gate, 1829.”

It is difficult, even with the help of the prints, maps, and drawings of the Crace and other collections to form an idea of the aspect of this corner a hundred years ago, or to recall the scenes of horror which took place at executions on the bare hill to the westward. But, instead of the great street of Edgware Road, with its double row of large shops, instead of the tall houses of Connaught Place, instead of the seemingly endless vista of terraces and gardens facing the park there were no houses on the left hand, looking along Edgware Road, and none on the right, looking along the Uxbridge Road. There was a wall, by no means uniform or regular, dividing the park from the road; and about half-way to Kensington Gardens was the ranger’s lodge, opening with a pair of gates nearly opposite the modern Albion Street. The inclosure for the burial-ground of St. George’s stood out as a prominent feature in the landscape—a landscape which showed, here and there a farmhouse or a strawyard; here and there a lonely tavern with a swinging sign and a water-trough; and for the rest was made up of a long slope down to the Bayswater, or Westbourne, with, in the foreground, crossed by footpaths, a bare triangular space decorated only by the awful presence of the gallows.

This space can hardly be defined now, the local landmarks having been carefully erased in the laying out of the streets and roads. A house at the corner of Con-

naught Square and Stanhope Place is often asserted to be actually on the site occupied by the gallows—an idle tradition, as the gallows were not always on the same spot; and were certainly, during the last few years, only erected for each execution, and then on the roadway itself. Another idle story is, that remains indicating the burial of bodies under the gallows were found at the corner of Connaught Place. In one publication it was asserted that a cartload of bones was removed and buried in a pit dug in the mews; and that this cartload "doubtless" contained the bones of Cromwell.* As a matter of fact no such discovery was ever made. When the houses in Connaught Place were built, a careful search was instituted lest any such fragments should exist. A single bone, which may be a portion of the lower jaw of a human being, was found, and is carefully preserved. But that was all. There are few parts of London, especially along the course of an ancient Roman road, where remains of some kind, and generally sepulchral, may not be found.

This corner, and the inclosing sides, north-west by Edgware Road to Kensal Green, and west by the Uxbridge or Bayswater Road to the boundaries of Kensington, near what used to be the Gravel Pits, but has now become Notting Hill Gate, is the parish of Paddington, and includes the two manors of Paddington and Westbourne. They were divided by the little stream which was the original source of the Serpentine, but is now lost to sight in an underground sewer. Brook Mews marks the spot where it was last seen. In tracing

* I followed this tradition implicitly in my 'In and Out of London'; and was kindly set right by the best authority, the owner and occupier of Arklow House itself. The words "numerous bones" were used by a writer in 'Notes and Queries,' 9th May, 1860, p. 400.

the history of Westminster, we have had occasion to show how Westbourne was probably at a very early period separated from the original "manor of the church of St. Peter," and that it may be identified with the holding of Bainiard. Of Paddington we only know that if it was separated from the manor of Westminster at some time between the Domesday survey and the middle of the twelfth century, it was restored to its original owners through the care of abbot Walter, who in 1191, bought it from Richard and William de Padinton, and left it to the abbey for the good of his soul, and to provide "fine manchets, cakes, crumpets, cracknells, and wafers," with a gallon of wine for each monk, and other indulgences, on the anniversary of his death.*

By what means the manor of Westbourne came to belong to the abbey of Westminster I have not been able to ascertain. In 1222, a decree was made in order to terminate a dispute between the abbey and the see of London. In this decree Westburne and Padyngtoun are named together among the possessions of the abbey, or to speak more exactly, are said to "belong to the parish of St. Margaret."

When the religious houses were suppressed Henry VIII. made Paddington part of the endowment of the new see of Westminster.† This was in 1541, and the manors, though now both in ecclesiastical hands, were never united again, as, when the new bishopric was abolished, Paddington went towards the endowment of the see of London, while Westbourne remained to the dean and

* There is a doubtful charter in Kemble's 'Codex Diplomaticus', (mcccxxiii.), in which St. Dunstan has the credit of adding Paddington to the possessions of the Abbey. The two statements are not inconsistent, as Richard and William may have been leaseholders, but it is improbable.

† See chap. xvi.

chapter of Westminster, who had received it from Henry VIII. and have retained it ever since.

The bishops now exercise their rights through the Ecclesiastical Commissioners ; but a very determined attempt was made by a dignitary, no less respectable than archbishop Sheldon, to alienate Paddington, as the canons of St. Paul's had alienated their estates. At the time of the Commonwealth, Paddington, like other church estates, was sold ; but at the Restoration, Sheldon, then bishop of London, claimed it for his use, and obtaining it, gave it on a long lease to his sons, Joseph and Daniel. His family are said to have enjoyed the revenues of the manor for above eighty years. Although holding under so unjust an arrangement, the Sheldons deserved well of the place, and when the old church, a kind of chapel, originally, to St. Margaret's, became ruinous, they built a new one. This new church, which was consecrated in 1678, was dedicated to St. James. The older one is sometimes supposed to have been dedicated to St. Katherine, but on insufficient evidence.* The existing church of St. Mary, Paddington Green, was built by local subscription in 1788, and is described shortly afterwards as "seated on an eminence, finely embosomed in venerable elms." After some years, even this new church became too small for the rapidly growing parish ; and there are now not only some half-dozen district churches, but the church at Paddington

* The history of Paddington, little as there is to tell, is unusually involved, owing to the carelessness of the historians. Timbs says the Sheldons built their church in the reign of Charles I.; but this statement is capped by another writer, who, after assigning the right date to St. James's, goes on to say it was decorated in accordance with the wishes of queen Elizabeth, and confounds the burial-ground with that in Paddington Street, St. Marylebone, and Paddington Green with Westbourne Green.

Green has been deposed from its ascendancy. The parish for the fourth time changed its patron and reverted to its former saint, when the new and handsome but terribly stiff perpendicular church of St. James was erected in 1845, and made parochial. This revival or awakening of religious enthusiasm in Paddington took place at an unfortunate moment in the history of architecture. The least objectionable of the new churches is that in the square known as Lancaster Gate. It is absurdly and incongruously placed among stucco palaces of an Italian style, but from the Serpentine bridge, where the spire alone can be seen reflected in the water, through a vista of trees, it forms a pleasing feature of one of the few "bits" of landscape in London. On the whole, I am inclined to prefer the quaint classicality of old St. Mary's to the mock gothic of any of its successors.

Until lately Paddington has had few eminent inhabitants—nay, few inhabitants of any kind. The bishops, after whom so many of the streets and roads are called, never lived in their manor-house on the east side of the green; and a few years ago the house itself was pulled down. By a curious chance, however, though many of the great folk of the world did not affect Paddington in their lives, it has been the burial-place of more remarkable people than even Westminster Abbey itself. In 1764, the churchwardens of St. George's, Hanover Square, lord Boston and Mr. Long of Rood Ashton, in Wiltshire, bought for their newly-established parish a plot of land for a burial-ground. It was situated a long way out of town on the bare hillside, westward of the place of execution, at the corner of Edgware Road. It must have presented a sufficiently forbidding aspect when first inclosed. Now it looks rather pleasant, and green

with trees and flower-beds, when viewed from the backs of the houses on the west side of Connaught Square, or the south side of Connaught Street.* Here were buried some whom the world will not easily forget, though they may never even have seen their last resting-place in the time of their mortal lives. In 1768, Laurence Sterne's body was brought to it from the lodging-house † in Bond Street, where he died ; and was buried without so much as a gravestone. Some years later two Freemasons, out of admiration for his genius, set up a stone against the western wall with a long inscription ; but it would be rash to say it stands at the actual place of his interment. In the "reserved portion" of the ground, where rich people were able to protect their bodies from contamination with meaner mould, are some interesting monuments ; and among them the urn of a lady who was cremated in accordance with the provisions of her will in 1808. The cemetery is entered under an archway which passes between a chapel and the house of the keeper. In the chapel are some curious tablets, including that of the famous Mrs. Molony (d. 1839), who "was cousin to Burke, commonly called the sublime," who was "a superb drawer in water-colours, which was much admired in the exhibition," and of whom Mr. Edward Molony, of Castle Molony, her husband, asserts that "of such are the kingdom of heaven."‡ Here is also a tablet to the memory of Sir Thomas Picton, whose body, having lain in state at his house in Edwardes

* Formerly Upper Berkeley Street West. The churchwardens took it from Sir Thomas Frederick, who had a lease for three lives from the bishop. It is described as "five acres in Tyburn field." 'Malcolm,' iv. 236.

† No. 41, "a silk & bag shop," now Agnew & Co.'s, the picture dealers.

‡ The whole inscription may be found in Mr. Ravenshaw's 'Antiente Epitaphes,' p. 184.

Street, was buried in the little vault under this chapel. After the death and funeral of the duke of Wellington, it was removed to St. Paul's Cathedral.

At the most distant spot that can possibly be found within the limits of the parish is the great cemetery of Kensal Green, the bleakest, dampest, most melancholy of all the burial-grounds of London. Many a body brought here to the grave has been the cause of other deaths. The mourners at one funeral have been the mourned at another. It would be impossible to enumerate the names of all the memorable dead who sleep in this heavy clay; but here are Sydney Smith and Thackeray, Mulready and John Leech, cardinal Wiseman and the duke of Sussex. Two other names only will I mention. Who that has read the 'Tales of a Grandfather' can forget "Hugh Littlejohn, Esq.," to whom they are dedicated? Who that has felt himself no nearer to heaven "than when he was a boy" can fail to look with interest on the grave of Thomas Hood? The line on his monument was suggested by Mark Lemon—

"He sang the Song of the Shirt."

The West Bourne, or as we sometimes find it written Wesborn, divided the manor from that of Paddington, both lying originally, as we have seen, in the same parish. The extension of building over the western manor has only taken place within living memory, although an old village or two stood on the slope between the brook and the boundary of Kensington parish, near the top of the hill. Westbourne Green is now wholly obliterated by railways, the great Paddington station, properly in Westbourne, and the numberless lines running into it or from it, to the city and to

Addison Road, meeting on the very spot which was so long the village common. At the beginning of the present century, and long after, it was remarkable for its rural appearance. Westbourne Farm was the country residence of Mrs. Siddons, and Westbourne Place was a villa built for a city merchant by Isaac Ware, of whom a contemporary declares that though originally only a sweep, he was a born architect. Be this as it may, both villa and farm have long been destroyed, and Westbourne Green is *consumpta per ferro*, razed literally with the level ground, and covered with hundreds of lines of iron railway. Westbourne Green Lane survives, but is now known as Queen's Road, Bayswater. A few trees and a nursery garden or two remain, but all the rest is railway station, shops, and taverns. To judge from the changes the lane has undergone in a few years, it will soon form a line of street as continuous and unbroken as Edgware Road, or Westbourne Grove itself. The whole district has grown up in a short time round one or two older centres, such as Orme Square, built in 1815, or the original Bayswater, a hamlet near what is now Gloucester Terrace. The site of St. Stephen's church was, till 1842, a racing ground, known as the Hippodrome; and Christ Church, Lancaster Gate, stands as nearly as possible where the old ponds of Baynard's Watering became successively Bear's Watering, Bayswater, and Hopwood's nursery. A little further west was the villa of lord Craven, inaccurately described as "at the Gravel Pits," which has given its name to a round dozen of modern streets, squares, gardens, places, and terraces. The ground is marked in old maps as the "Pest Field." The good earl of Craven, in the time of the Great Plague, had given a site in Soho both for a burial ground and for a kind of cottage hospital, as we

should call it, for the use of the suburbs. The pest field was situated between Golden Square and the "Tyburn Road," now Oxford Street; but some time about the beginning of the last century it was decided to close the burial ground and build over the whole area. The then remote and desolate Upton Farm, "near the Kensington Gravel Pits," was accordingly purchased for the representative of lord Craven, in lieu of any rights or contingent rights he might have over the Pest Field; but according to the terms of the exchange, the new Pest Field, previously Upton Farm, was, in case of plague, to be given up for the burial of victims from the parish of St. Anne. In some old maps Pest Field stands on the Bayswater Road, a little to the west of the old Bayswater Conduit.

When the princess Anne gave birth to the little son whose story has been so quaintly told by Jenkin Lewis, his servant,* "her Highness sought after a house near town fit for his nursery; and, pitching upon Kensington as a place of good air, she chose my lord Craven's house, at Kensington gravel pits, which his lordship readily lent her for that purpose. The young prince continued there about twelve months, thriving apace; and went out every day when dry, in the afternoon, in his little coach which the duchess of Ormond presented him with, and often times in the forenoon; nor was the severity of the winter's cold a pretence for his staying within. The horses, which were no larger than a good mastiff, were under the guidance of Dick Drury, his coachman." Lord Craven's house proving too small for the prince and princess with their attendants, after a year's residence they removed to Campden Hill.

There is something touching in the glimpse here given

* Reprint, 1881 (Stanford), p. 36.

us of the stout old earl. He had fought for the daughter of James ; he had seen one king beheaded and another exiled ; he had lost an estate under the commonwealth, and gained an earldom at the Restoration ; he was universally believed to have married the widowed queen of Bohemia, and to have comforted her declining years in a princely retirement at Hampton in Berkshire, while the mention of the Pest Field reminds us that he, with the duke of Albemarle, remained in town during the Great Plague of 1665, succouring and directing when every one else had fled or become crazy with fear. And now in his old age we see him stooping over the cradle of the poor decrepit child in whom the hopes of the nation and the dynasty were so fallaciously centered. When the little prince died, in 1700, the good earl had already gone to his well-earned repose ; but if he had lived three years longer he would have seen the succession to the English throne settled on the daughter of the beloved queen, whose widower he remained for six and thirty years.

The name of "Dick Drury," the prince's coachman, may point to the earl's connection with Drury Lane, or may be accidental ; but his liberality in offering his house rent free to the princess, whom, in truth, he may have looked on as a niece, was not imitated by the owner of Campden House, to which the child was removed in 1691.

From Craven Hill and its gardens to Orme Square the ground rises gradually, so that when the border of the parish of Kensington is reached, we are ninety-five feet above the mean sea level. Naturally, this slope facing Kensington Gardens is looked upon as one of the best situations for fine houses, and is accordingly by degrees assuming an appearance to be compared only

with that of Park Lane. But many small houses, shops two storey villas, and taverns still remain; and it is a question how far really substantial buildings can be erected unless upon longer leases than are at present granted by the dean and chapter.

Bark Place, like Orme Square, takes its name from an old lessee, while Petersburgh Place and Moscow Road are said to commemorate the visit of the czar after the conclusion of peace in 1815, when this district was first covered with houses.

High as is the ground of Orme Square, it is overtopped by the neighbouring hill on whose north side is Notting Hill Gate, and at whose southern foot is the ancient village of Kensington.*

It is customary to speak of Kensington as "the old court suburb," and if the name is correctly derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Conning*, or *Cyning*, there may be good ground for connecting it with royalty. But so far back as direct history goes, Kensington has had nothing to do with kings and queens. Swift talks of "kingly Kensington"; and other writers innumerable have followed him. In the Domesday Book, however, we find no mention of kings among the owners, except when we are told that Edwin, a vassal of king Edward the Confessor, owned the manor and could sell it, showing that it was his absolute freehold. At the time of the survey it was held by Aubrey de Ver, not of the king, but of the bishop of Coutances. It would thus appear that this

* The meaning and derivation of "Kensington" are not easily discovered. It is usual to speak as if *Kensing* was a corruption of *Cyning*, and as if Kensington means *King's Town*. But the *Chenesit* of Domesday is against this interpretation; and there is no parallel, so far as I know, for turning *Cyning* into *Kensing*. On the whole I am inclined to see in Kensington the name of a mark, and there are *Kemsings* in other places, which afford a better derivation than can be made from *Cyning*.

manor was singularly independent of royalty at the earliest* period at which we have any mention of it; and it may be added that Kensington has maintained to the present day its ancient condition in this respect.

Aubrey "de Ver," as he is called in the Domesday Book, became the ancestor of the Veres, earls of Oxford, and the manor of Kensington remained theirs for many generations, although Edward IV. gave it to his brother Richard, and it was held for a time by Sir Reginald Bray. But a very large slice of the manor was granted about 1107 to the abbot of Abingdon, near Oxford, by the first Aubrey, "for the soul's health" of his eldest son, and as the church was included in the gift, and actually stands on this part of the land, the parish obtained the name it has ever since borne of St. Mary Abbot's.† The Abingdon estate became itself a sub-manor, and perhaps the manor house, now known as Holland House, is the most celebrated building in Kensington. The earl's manor house was, as the name imports, in Earl's Court Road, and we shall probably not go far wrong if we identify it with the house long occupied by the great John Hunter, and lately standing near Earl's Court Station.

Of the other, or Holland House, we have heard almost too much of late years. To believe Macaulay no house ever contained within its walls so many eminent men at the same time. Certainly, one of the most influential of the many mutual-admiration societies, which are to be found mentioned in English history, occasionally met in

* There is a *Chenestun* in a charter (Kemble, 992) of the reign of Caedwalla of Wessex, but it has not been identified.

† Oddly enough, one of the most voluminous and ambitious of modern London historians devotes three long chapters to Kensington without a mention of the abbot of Abingdon.

its dining-room. But though Wilkie may here have gazed at a picture by Reynolds, and Mackintosh have "turned over Thomas Aquinas," and Talleyrand have related an adventure with Lannes,* there have been greater men assembled together under one roof than Wilkie, Mackintosh, and Talleyrand, even if we throw in Macaulay, with Marshall Lannes, Reynolds, and the saint. Many of us, looking back through a longer perspective, may think some of the club meetings in Soho, such as that lashed by Goldsmith in his "Retaliation," would bear comparison with the best party ever assembled at Holland House, though among them were several eminent Whigs, together with Sydney Smith, Byron, Thomas Moore, and Thomas Campbell. Lady Holland appears to have been a very disagreeable person, of character so questionable that ladies could not appear at her table; and though she was the great and typical "Mrs. Leo Hunter" of her day—hospitable, clever, and managing—it is impossible to admire her.

There are fortunately older and better memories about Holland House. The third lord Holland, Macaulay's contemporary, was the son of Stephen, second lord, who died early, and nephew of Charles James Fox. When Fox was young, his lovely aunt, lady Sarah Lennox, here received her many admirers, made hay upon the lawn, petted her squirrel, grieved over the birds her nephew killed,† nearly broke a king's heart, and cried for the loss of a crown as if it had been a plaything. It would be easy to linger over this charming figure.‡

Casting our eyes a little further back still we come to another remarkable name. Before the time of Henry

* 'Macaulay's Essays,' ii. 180.

† According to the picture by Reynolds.

‡ There is a chapter on lady Sarah in my 'In and Out of London.'

Fox, the first baron, who having bought the house took his title from it, the family of Rich, earls of Warwick and Holland, had owned it. The last earl but two left a widow, Charlotte, the daughter of a Welsh baronet. In 1716 she married Joseph Addison, and in Holland House, three years later, the *Spectator* looked his last on the world. Here he is said to have shown his stepson how a Christian can die, and we may hope the young earl took advantage of the example, for he only outlived Addison a couple of years.

The Rich family boasted of a martyr in the royal cause. The earl of Holland obtained the house by a fortunate marriage and had been concerned with "Steenie" in the Spanish project. He had first defied Charles, who imprisoned him, and afterwards Cromwell by whose orders he was beheaded. He took his minor title from Kensington, and his earldom from the "parts of Holland," in Lincolnshire. He died before Westminster Hall in a satin doublet and silver lace, at the very place where thirty years before Raleigh had met the same fate. He enjoyed good company to the last, for the duke of Hamilton preceded him to the block, and lord Capel followed him. He was the least worthy of the three, and his family do not seem to have mourned for him long, for we find Holland House mentioned soon after as one of the places in which private theatricals were performed during the mirthless days of the protectorate.

Sir Walter Cope had obtained from James I. all the abbot's manor, and there is every reason to suppose that he built his new house on the old site. On the other hand, while manorial customs prevailed, it was to a house near the present vicarage that the inhabitants of St. Mary Abbot's resorted to do suit and service; and it is not impossible that the abbot of Abingdon did not

live very far from the church. Be this as it may, Sir Walter spared neither money nor good taste, and the result is a house of which it can only be said that it is among the most picturesque of London suburban dwellings. It is said that Thorpe was the architect, but Inigo Jones and Nicholas Stone also left their mark on it, and though there have been modern alterations, even to the extent of changing the face of the house, it remains substantially as it was in the reign of the first Stuart.

Among Sir Walter Cope's associates was a rich city merchant, of obscure birth, named Hicks. To this worthy, so runs the tale, Sir Walter lost at the gaming table a few acres of the hill which rose between his own house and the church. Sir Baptist Hicks took advantage of the site to erect a villa by no means unworthy of its great neighbour, and planting an avenue of elms from his hall-door to the village High Street, finished it with a pair of brick gate-posts, surmounted by the hounds which on his elevation to a peerage formed his supporters. Like Sir Walter Sir Baptist had no son, and Campden House, as he named it, went to his elder daughter, on whose husband, Edward Noel, the title was entailed, together with the manor of Chipping Campden, in Gloucestershire, from which it was derived.

The Noels lived at Campden House after the death of Sir Baptist in 1629. His will contains so many charitable bequests that Stow's continuator devotes a whole chapter to it, and to "an epitaph made in his Memorall," which commences with

Faith true
Hope firm,
Charity free,
Baptist, Lord Campden,
Was these three,

five lines from which the tenor of the rest may be easily

inferred. His bequest to Kensington consisted of a sum of 200*l.* "to be yearly employed for the good and benefit of the poor." This legacy was invested in the purchase of "two closes, containing fourteen acres, called Chare Crofts, situated near Sheppard's Bush Green, in the parish of Fulham." Chare Crofts bring in now 480*l.* a year, and the trustees have some 10,000*l.* in consols. Lady Campden, the widow of the second viscount, also left a legacy to the parish, with which the authorities bought, in 1644, "a close, called Butt's Field, containing 5 acres, 2 roods, and 30 perches, and also 3 roods to be taken out of Middle Quayle Field."* These lands adjoined Hogmore, or Hogmire Lane, now Gloucester Road and Palace Gate, and bring in some 360*l.*, while about 40,000*l.* have accumulated.

The Noels became extinct, in the male line, early in the eighteenth century, but the trustee of the last of them, a Mr. Bertie, is said to have asked the princess Anne such a rent for Campden House "that it was imagined any other person might have purchased it for less."† Yet the house was too small for the princess and her son, and a building now known as Little Campden House was added on the western side.

The poor little prince is carefully described by his faithful servant; even his height and weight and the size of his head are recorded. We read of his medicines, his blisters, his very mild birchings, his new clothes and stiff waistcoat, his tumbles, and his refusal to say his prayers. William III. appears in a new and amiable light, caressing his little nephew. He named him duke of Gloucester, a title never formally used, and when he was six years of age, "as a Garter was vacant by the death of Lord Stafford, the King came to Campden House and

* Report of the Vestry, 1810, p. 41.

† Lewis, p. 36 (reprint).

told the princess she should have St. James's Palace to reside in, and that he would bestow the Order of the Garter on the Duke: he also informed her Highness why he had not done it before. Accordingly on the 4th of January, 1696, the Bishop of Salisbury came to tell the Duke that he should have the Garter within two days; and asked him if the thoughts of it did not make him glad? ‘I am gladder of the King’s favour to me,’ he said without being prompted to it.”*

The child was devoted to military pursuits. Every one has heard of his boy regiment. His attendants made him fortifications in the grounds of Campden House, and when the king visited him he fired a salute from real guns with real powder. His boy regiment was partly recruited from London. Kensington was not yet perhaps sufficiently populous to furnish more than a couple of score or so. They assembled on holidays and were put through their exercises by the little duke, who enforced strict discipline and administered the military punishments in vogue at that date. Yet we hear of complaints of their insolence when dismissed from parade. When they were coming from London, or going home, they were often very rude and would “fall on many people.” It was a proud day for the little duke when William came to review them. “My dear King,” he exclaimed, “you shall have both my companies with you to Flanders.”

The duke died in 1700 at Windsor, and Campden House was next occupied by the dowager countess of Burlington † and her clever son, afterwards known as the “Architect Earl.” He may have imbibed some of his

* Lewis, p. 97.

† She was the daughter of Henry Noel, second son of the third Viscount Campden, and widow of Charles Boyle, Earl of Burlington, who died in 1704.

architectural taste from contemplating the beauties of the old house, with its mullioned windows richly dight in stained glass, and its magnificent oak carvings.

In 1719 it was sold to Nicholas Lechmere, who became a peer in 1721, and died childless in 1727, being now chiefly remembered for a lampoon of Swift's* which he provoked. The house went into Chancery and appears to have been unoccupied till 1735, when it was decreed by the Court to Edmund Lechmere, M.P. for Worcestershire. He did not keep it long; and the next owner, Stephen Pitt, a relation in all probability of the Chatham family,† lived in Little Campden House, and let the older building to some ladies who kept an "eminent boarding school for young ladies."

Pitt married the daughter and heiress of a man named Orbell who would probably be forgotten by posterity but for the fact that the great Sir Isaac Newton used to come to Kensington for change of air, and died at last in Orbell's Buildings in 1727. Orbell's Buildings are now called Bullingham House, and a tablet let into the wall records Newton's name.‡ The Bullinghams were an old Kensington family, one of whom was bishop of Gloucester in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and was buried in the old church. When Orbell died in 1734, Pitt inherited or already possessed a considerable estate on the hill, and to him we may attribute many alterations, such as the shortening of the old avenue, the removal of "The Dogs," and perhaps the building of a mock ruin at the corner of the wall next Sheffield Terrace. When the underground railway

* "Duke upon Duke."

† Anne Pitt died at her house in Pitt Place, Kensington Gravel Pits, in 1780. ('Old and New London,' v. 139.)

‡ Some confusion as to the exact place of Newton's death was resolved by a letter from Mr. Jopling in 'Notes and Queries,' 3rd Series, i. 29.

was made, a tunnel ran through the garden, which is not however, apparently much injured by it. In 1862, being at the time in the occupation of a Mr. Woolley, the house was completely gutted by fire,* but rebuilt immediately. It now belongs to Mr. Elder, by whom the grounds are well kept up, and materially help Campden Hill to retain its ancient look of umbrageous verdure. In the east wall is the old gateway, now built up, which opened towards Kensington Palace, when William III. lived there, and when there was nothing but a gardener's cottage between the two houses. The wall now faces Sheffield Gardens, which with other local names reminds us of the existence of a villa on this hill belonging to lord Sheffield, the friend of Gibbon.

The Pratts, from whom the marquis Camden is descended, were an old Kensington family. The great Chancellor may have had Campden Hill, or as it was then usually spelled Camden Hill, in his mind, when he chose that name for his peerage, though it is always attributed to his veneration for Camden, the antiquary, whose house at Chislehurst he had bought.†

* There is some account of this fire in the amusing memoirs of Serjeant Ballantine, i. 270.

† In my edition of Jenkyn Lewis there is mention of a Mr. Prat, who was tutor to the duke of Gloucester (p. 9), and I have endeavoured to connect him with the Pratts of Kensington. I have since discovered, through the kindness of Mrs. Wilkinson, a descendant of his, that I was mistaken. Samuel Prat, in whom I have another cause for interest because he was chaplain of the Savoy, always spelled the name with one T, as did his descendants to the present day. He is buried in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. He was created D.D. at Cambridge, by the king's desire, in 1697. He wrote a Latin Grammar and published some sermons. He was born at Stratford in Essex, and died in 1723, having been vicar of Kensington (resigned 1693), Goudhurst (resigned 1713), Tottenham and Twickenham, chaplain of the Savoy, canon of Windsor, and in 1697, dean of Rochester. A memorial ring for the little duke and a prayer book which belonged to queen Anne are still in possession of the Prat family.

The north-western and south-eastern extremities of Kensington have so little to do with the central village that it is sometimes difficult to remember that Notting Hill and Brompton are equally within the old parochial boundary ; though the palace is within that of St. Margaret, Westminster. The Notting Hill extremity presents few features of interest. It is for the most part cut up into small holdings, some free, some leased. Ladbroke Grove commemorates its builder, and Ladbroke Square has somewhat absurdly been renamed Kensington Park. St. John's Church stands on the site of the Notting Hill farmhouse, described by Faulkner in 1820 as an ancient brick building, surrounded by spacious barns. This church, which is in a poor style of gothic, was for a brief period the incumbency of the lamented Craufurd Tait, only son of the late archbishop of Canterbury.

The summit of Campden Hill is very conspicuous from St. John's Church, as it rises 120 feet above the sea-level and is crowned with a chimney 200 feet high, belonging to the Grand Junction Water Works. Close to the chimney is a cluster of villas, including a ridiculous plastered tower in "the Norman style," and some plain old-fashioned houses locally known as the Dukeries. In one of them, Holly Lodge, lord Macaulay died in 1859.

In Church Street, and also in Lower Phillimore Place (called after its builder, who died in 1819), Sir David Wilkie long resided. John Leech died in a house on what is called The Terrace. In fact, to attempt any enumeration of the eminent inhabitants would be absurd. As we pass towards Brompton, however, two at least should be noticed. If we turn out of High Street by Young Street (called also after one Young, who built it), we reach Kensington Square. The last house but one in the street, now unfortunately and purposelessly re-

numbered, on the right hand, was long the residence of Thackeray, whose later years were passed in a new house within the avenue of Palace Gardens. The square was built as a speculation when king William first came to reside at the palace, and contains still some charming little "bits" of the Wren period, one of the best being a now divided tenement at the south-eastern corner. Through a narrow lane leading from this corner we reach a labyrinth of small streets, some of them old, some new, and crossing it as best we can emerge in Cornwall Gardens. Here, covering the ground now occupied by the gardens, and by Gloucester Road Station, was Glo'ster or Onslow Villa, in which lived George Canning, and here his son, the future governor-general, was born, and another son, who lies buried in Kensington Churchyard with a touching epitaph by the great statesman.

We thus reach Brompton, famous once upon a time for its gardens, but now covered with a new quarter of fashionable houses, even its own name being suppressed as vulgar and "South Kensington" substituted. It is not necessary here to describe the ever-changing glories of the famous local institutions, the three museums, the portrait gallery, and the Hall of Science and Art, all of which, as some believe, might better have been placed where they would be accessible to the general public.

It will be sufficient to say that the science and art museum is under the control of the Education Department, and, since its establishment, in 1857, has proved a serious rival to both the British Museum and the National Gallery. It is understood that the unseemly spectacle of rival public galleries bidding each other up in an art sale is not to be witnessed again, but it is unquestionable that the early managers of the institution did much not only to bring it into disfavour with many people, but, by

the way in which they sheltered themselves behind the lamented Prince Consort, added greatly to the unpopularity of his efforts to further culture in this country. Meanwhile a new town has grown up round the Albert Hall and the South Kensington Museum. They are still inaccessible to a large number of the class for whose benefit they were opened, but on the whole it must be conceded that, in general arrangements, in careful cataloguing, in the provision of comfortable reading and refreshment rooms, and many other particulars, they set a good example to older museums.

Two houses designed by Mr. Norman Shaw, and so contrived, unfortunately, that like two negatives they destroy one another, are at the corner of Exhibition Road, facing the park. In old times this corner was Kensington Gore, and very lately the remains of lady Blessington's house were still to be seen. Here Wilberforce resided for many years, and here, if I mistake not, his son the bishop of Oxford was born.

There is something more than tradition to connect the name of Cromwell with Kensington, but only tradition to connect it with Brompton. It is true Kensington was much affected by Cromwell's friends. General Lambert is mentioned in the parish register as lord Lambert, and there is also the name of Sir William Strickland, another of Oliver's peers, and of Sir Thomas Foot, a third, as well as of Sir Edward Dering, the eccentric Kentish baronet, whose precise political position at any particular time it would be difficult to assign. The register contains one entry which refers directly to the family of the protector. In 1653 "Mr. Henry Cromwell" was married to Elizabeth Russell. The entry proves nothing. It points to the probability that the family of Elizabeth Russell lived in the parish. But

tradition will have it that he, and also that his father, the great Oliver, lived in a house near what is now the South Kensington Museum, and accordingly a street, one of the longest and widest in London, Cromwell Road, is called after them. In an enumeration of the Kensington parochial charities * is an account of a "deed of feoffment," dated June 18th, 1651, by which Thomas Coppin in consideration of 45*l.* conveyed to Sir John Thorowgood, and eleven others, and their heirs, "all that land with the appurtenances at the Gravel Pitts in Kensington, containing two acres in the occupation of Richard Barton." No trust was declared in the deed, nor was it said how the 45*l.* was obtained, nor for what purpose, but the land, on which are now some houses in High Street, Notting Hill Gate, has long been called Cromwell's Gift.

This is not very clear or satisfactory evidence; nor have we much more respecting another "eminent inhabitant." Lord Burleigh is sometimes reckoned among Kensington worthies. The fourth earl of Exeter, "John Cecill, son and heir apparent" of John, lord Burleigh, was born at Mr. Sheffield's, and baptised in the parish church in 1674. But the great lord Burleigh is known to have lived at Brompton Hall, and his house was still pointed out, but doubtfully, fifty years ago. The Brompton part of the parish has, in fact, been so long broken up into small holdings that a mere enumeration of the successive owners of estates would include some very remarkable names.†

* 'Vestry Report,' 1810, p. 92.

† For such an enumeration see Croker's 'Walk from London to Fulham.' Curran died at Amelia Place, in 1817; Mme. Guizot at Pelham Crescent, in 1848; Shaftesbury, the author of the 'Characteristics,' lived in Little Chelsea, 1710; and so on.

Kensington Church, as I remember it in my boyhood, was one of the few really picturesque buildings of the kind near London. It was, of course, by no means worthy of a parish which can boast of such aristocratic residents and neighbours as the Kensington of to-day, but it harmonised well with what is left of old Kensington Square; and the cupola on the palace, and the old vestry-hall and its blue-coat children, now sent in disgrace to the back entrance; and with Colby House, and Kensington House, formerly known as Little Bedlam. Almost all these relics have disappeared. One of the most hideous buildings in Europe occupies the site of Colby House. No lunatic in the old house could have imagined, in his wildest dreams, the pretentious ugliness of the mansion fitly called "Grant's Folly."* It is now being pulled down, but that will not replace Colby House and its companion. The town hall is new and commonplace, the officials having unfortunately refused a "Queen Anne" design for it. The old church, with its quaint curved gable to the street corner, and its well weathered red brick, has also disappeared. Why the parish authorities did not follow the good example of St. Marylebone, and build their new church on a new site, say at the top of the hill, the finest situation in the world for such a building, and now occupied by the little tower and spire of St. George's, I cannot but wonder. However, all is gone, the reading desk and pulpit, with the initials of William and Mary, and the royal pew with its curtain, and the seat occupied by Macaulay, and the rails where the duchess of Kent was churched after the birth of queen Victoria.

* Kensington House is said, truly or falsely, to have been erected for a Mr. Grant, a London merchant, who, however, has not that I am aware ever resided in it.

The new church is very handsome, and boasts of the highest spire in London ; indeed, it is said, the highest pointed spire on any parish church in England. Including the metal cross on the top it is within an inch or two of measuring 300 feet, and is not only a very conspicuous but a very pleasing object when seen from Kensington Gardens, reflected, perhaps, in the Round Pond, and with the glow of a sunset behind it. Sir Gilbert Scott who designed the church did not live to see the spire completed.

There are many churches in different parts of the parish. Holy Trinity, Brompton, has long been reckoned a parish church. It was designed "in a neat gothic style," and built in 1829. Close to it, overshadowing it, in fact, is the rising dome of a new church for the Oratorians of St. Philip Neri, of which the Oratory at Birmingham, over which cardinal Newman has so long presided, is the head. Faber, the hymn writer, was before his death the superior of the Brompton establishment. The new church will be a very prominent example of the Italian style when it is completed. The Roman Catholics have many other churches in Kensington, the largest being the so-called Pro-Cathedral in a court off High Street. It is too short for its great height, owing to its lofty clerestory, and is very conspicuous from the exterior ; but the interior is unsatisfactory. The late Dr. Rock was priest of this church, and is remembered with regret by all who knew him, and especially by those who had occasion to test his unrivalled knowledge of some of the more obscure departments of mediæval art.

Divided from southern Kensington, or Brompton, only by the width of the Fulham Road, and bounded on the other side by the course of the Thames, Chelsea has

long been a very urban suburb. The manor is called *Chelched* in "Domesday," with an alternative reading, *Cercehede*. It belonged to Edward de Sarisberie, and before the Conquest to Wlwene, "a vassal of king Edward," who "could sell it to whom he pleased." The further descent of the manor is involved in obscurity for some centuries, but, in 1368, Robert de Heyle leased it to the abbey of Westminster for his own life. In the reign of Henry VII. it belonged to the great Sir Reginald Bray, the architect of St. George's Chapel at Windsor. His niece, lady Sandys, inherited it; but had to exchange it for other lands with Henry VIII. The king settled it on Katherine Parr, his sixth wife. She was succeeded by her sister-in-law, the widow of the protector Somerset, who was a Stanhope; and through her mother, a Bourchier, descended from Thomas of Woodstock, one of the sons of Edward III. On her children, to the prejudice of her stepson, Sir Edward Seymour, the dukedom of Somerset was settled when the protector conferred that honour upon himself in 1547. It thus came to pass that a later Sir Edward Seymour could tell William of Orange that the duke of Somerset belonged to his family, when the prince, at his landing, had asked him if he belonged to the duke's family.

The manor was also held by a relative of the duchess, the first lord Stanhope of Harrington, and by Katharine, lady Howard; but in the time of Charles I. it had reverted to the Crown, and was granted to that duke of Hamilton, or Duke Hamilton, as his contemporaries called him, whom we have already seen accompanying the lord of the adjoining manor of Kensington to the scaffold at Westminster. In the Hamilton family the manor remained for a time, till it was bought by lord Newhaven, whose surname survives in Cheyne Walk and

Cheyne Row, lately so celebrated as the residence of Thomas Carlyle.*

In 1712 Sir Hans Sloane bought the manor of Chelsea from the Cheyne family; and his daughter and coheiress, Elizabeth, married the famous general Cadogan, a colonel of horse guards in Marlborough's wars, whose descendant, earl Cadogan, is now lord of the manor and viscount "Chelsey." Sir Hans is commemorated in Hans Place and Sloane Square; the Cadogans in Cadogan Place and Cadogan Square; and the Lawrences, who lived in the old manor house, by grant from Henry VIII., in Lawrence Street, near the old church.

Such is the written history of the manor. It would be interesting if we might identify it with Chalk-hythe, or *Cealchythe*, a place of which the Saxon Chronicle makes mention under 785 or 787—the exact date is variously given—"This year there was a contentious synod at Cealchythe." A similar name occurs in several early charters,† but the judicious Kemble has failed, or refused, to identify them, and there are many reasons to the contrary.

The situation of Chelsea on the river's bank, and its proximity to London, made it early a suitable site for suburban villas. When the chancellorship left Lambeth, and a layman instead of an archbishop became keeper of the king's conscience, no more convenient

* He died at 5 Great Cheyne Row in 1881.

† See Kemble, *passim*. Mr. Rupert Jones, F.R.S., who has made a special study of the subject, is strongly of opinion that Chels-ey has the same origin as Chels-field and other names which refer to flints, the best known example being that of "Chesil Beach," and seems to signify "the gravelly island or eyot." Cealchytte, or Chalkhythe, is high up the Thames on the Oxfordshire side, and derives its name from the chalk. I have to thank Mr. Jones for leave to use his note on the subject.

place could have been found for Sir Thomas More's residence. It was, no doubt, when visiting More at Chelsea that Henry VIII. cast his covetous eyes on the manor. He gave the old manor house to the Lawrences, as I have said, and built another close to the water's edge.* Adjoining it was long a residence of the bishop of Winchester. Both have now disappeared. Cheyne Walk is on their site. More's house was partially rebuilt by Sir John Danvers in the reign of Charles I., and was wholly removed in 1696, when Danvers Street was built on the site. Beaufort Street commemorates Beaufort House, once a residence of the dukes of Beaufort; the Cremorne Gardens, so long a nuisance to the neighbours, occupied the grounds of Chelsea farm, the residence of an old viscountess Cremorne for many years; Lindsey House was the villa of the Berties, earls of Lindsey, and has given place to streets called after them; and, in short, it may be said of Chelsea in the seventeenth century, that it was to the London of that day what the Strand had been in the reign of Richard II.

All the figures which pass and repass along the bank of the river at Chelsea are less distinct and less interesting than that of Sir Thomas More. Had his jealous master but allowed him, he might here have ended his days in peace. We see him one day walking in his garden with Erasmus, or sitting to Holbein, another bearing the heavy honour of Henry's arm about his neck. On Sunday he goes into the choir and sings in a surplice, "like a parish clerk," as the duke of Norfolk observed contemptuously. When he has resigned his

* Anne of Cleves died in 1557, at the "King and Queen's majesty's palace of Chelsey beside London." Some have absurdly supposed this was More's house.

office, it is his wife that suffers, as so often in such cases,* and the attendant no longer goes to her pew to announce the departure of "My Lord." In everything he is simple and unaffected to the verge of affectation, but when we come to read an anecdote of More, which we do not chance to know already, we somehow always feel sure, however he may approach that boundary, he will never pass it. His charities are described as being cut after the plainest gospel pattern. He seldom feasted the rich, but his poor neighbours often ; and when he was a practising lawyer, "he took no fees of poor folks, widows, or pupils."

In the old parish church, near the river, More's monument still stands. The church is an interesting building of the most mixed character ; so far, happily, not very much hurt by restorers. More made a chapel for his family tomb at the east end of the south aisle, and put up a black slab to record the fact. It has been twice "improved," and is said to have originally contained a reference to his persecution of heresy, for which a blank is now left in the renewed inscription, just the kind of evasion one can imagine the straightforward chancellor would himself have particularly disliked.† The architectural ornaments of the monument are in what was then the new Italian style. It is uncertain where More is buried ; some say here ; some say in the Tower chapel. His head is certainly in the church of

* One is tempted to refer to Sir Cloutesly Shovel's proposal that the king should knight his wife.

† Was it in anticipation of his own fate that More concluded his wife's epitaph with these lines ?

" O simul, O juncti poteramus vivere nostros
Quam bene, si fatum religioque sinant.
At societ tumulus, societ nos, obsecro, cælum !
Sic mors, non potuit quod dare vita, dabit."

St. Dunstan, at Canterbury,* having been rescued by Margaret Roper, his daughter, from London Bridge. There are several members of his family buried at Chelsea, including both his wives. Some of the other monuments are curious. One of them commemorates Jane, duchess of Northumberland, widow of the protector, mother of queen Elizabeth's favourite, Leicester, and grandmother of Sir Philip Sydney. Another is that of her daughter, lady Huntingdon, and there are many tablets to the Lawrences, Cheynes, and other residents in the parish, including one to Mrs. Anne Spragge, who having fought the Dutch in boy's clothes on board the ship of her brother, Captain Chamberlayne, died in child-bed, in 1692. The epitaph laments that she should have failed to become the mother of a line of heroes. Sir Hans Sloane and Magdalen Herbert, mother of George Herbert, the poet, are buried in the church-yard.

The newer church of St. Luke stands much further inland, and is in the style of gothic that might be expected from its date. It was consecrated in 1824.

Chelsea Hospital for old and disabled soldiers has always been a very popular institution, especially with artists. Wilkie painted the Chelsea pensioners exulting over the news of Waterloo, for the duke of Wellington, and in our own day a picture of the veterans in chapel engaged the attention of the crowd at Burlington House. It owes its foundation to Charles II., who, at the instigation, it was supposed, of Eleanor Gwynn, authorised for the purpose the purchase, from the Royal Society, of the site of a theological college, founded under the half-

* It was found many years ago in the vaults, and is preserved behind an iron grill. My late friend, Thomas Godfrey Faussett, told me of having seen it, and of having no doubt of its authenticity.

hearted patronage of James I., by dean Sutcliffe, of Exeter. Laud's influence was all against the college, as stirring up controversy with the Roman Catholics. The story of the college buildings, their presentation to the Royal Society, their resumption, after payment, by the crown, and, finally, the slow progress of the hospital are detailed by Evelyn. Sir Christopher Wren was the architect, but, though the cost is believed to have amounted to 150,000*l.*, and though the buildings were not finished till 1690, there are none of the magnificent features of the same architect's sister hospital at Greenwich. Yet Chelsea Hospital is, like all Sir Christopher's work, full of the beauty which proportion and fitness can give a plain design.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE SOUTHERN SUBURBS.

THE manors and estates which form the southern suburbs have, with one exception, very little of the historical interest which still hangs round Marylebone and Tyburn, Kensington and Chelsea. They lie for the most part on land which has always been suited for villa building. Had it not been for a peculiarity of the position opposite London, even suburbs would hardly have been made on ground which can only be called dry because the incursions of flood tides are kept out by artificial means, if they are kept out at all. As we had occasion to see in going over the geographical aspect of the so-called "Metropolitan Area,"* the ground opposite London and Westminster is a kind of peninsula, half surrounded by the river. Before reaching London the Thames makes a great bend to the north at Chelsea Reach. It bends again, this time to the south, after London is passed, at Limehouse Reach. The space thus inclosed, some four miles in width from Lambeth to Greenwich, is bounded on the south by low hills, of which the best known is crowned by the Crystal Palace. The peninsula bears evident traces of having but recently emerged, and we have a kind of historical evidence as to part of it, as "royal foreshore," and a more tangible proof in the frequent floods which alarm the inhabitants. In short, we are constantly reminded, as well by local

* See chap. i. vol. i.

names, such as Lambeth Marsh and Newington Causeway, as by such outbursts of the tide as that of 1850, that the greater part of the district is only a few feet above, and a considerable part of it is actually below high water mark.

But if we look for a moment at a map we shall see that Southwark forms, as it were, the handle of a fan, with London and its suburbs spreading all round it. We also observe that the Thames, which is more than 1200 feet wide at Westminster, is only 900 feet between the extreme north point of the peninsula and the opposite shore at Billingsgate. Even before the bridge was built, the spot at which it spans the river must have been of importance, for it is nearer the city than any other point on the southern or right bank for several miles above or below.

Confining our attention for the present to the outer ring of the southern suburbs, we find early evidence as to the lowness and dampness of the site of Lambeth, Kennington, and Bermondsey. It will not do to press too far the argument that Kennington was always the king's property, because it was "foreshore," and was occasionally submerged at high tides. But a considerable number of acres in the manor must have been under water before the river bank was raised; and it is certain that kings did claim foreshore at a very early period.

There is also another point which, though like the former one, it must not be pressed too far, is yet worth mentioning. In the 'Domesday Survey' we read that Kennington—there spelled Chenintun—was assessed in the reign of the Confessor for five hides, but that it now contains only a hide and three virgates; in other words, the land of the manor was not more than a quarter after

the Conquest of what it had been in the peaceful times of Edward. We find precisely the same state of things in the adjoining manor of Lambeth, which had declined from ten hides to two and a half. Even if we did not know of the probability of a great irruption of the river to cause this discrepancy, a flood of some kind would be one of the most obvious explanations.

If we suppose, therefore, that after long occupation and cultivation by the hard-working churls of the little "Suther Rige," or Southern Kingdom, the land had gradually been won for the king; that great embankments had been made, and annual labour bestowed to keep them in repair; but that, under the oppressions of the Normans the land was allowed again to fall a prey to the restless tide, we may, it is more than probable, have formed a good working theory for the early history of the southern suburbs.

Kennington and Lambeth are both in the same great parish of St. Mary. It would almost seem, when we remember all the St. Mary's we have enumerated on the northern and western sides of London, as if it had been determined to surround the city with a circle of churches dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The name of Lambeth—almost obviously Lamb-hithe—has given rise to the most amazing guesses. In Domesday it is oddly spelled *Lanchei*, probably by a mistake of the scribe.*

* Allen, 'History of Lambeth,' 1827, says of the name: "In the ancient historians it is spelt Lamhee, Lamheth, Lambyth, Lamedh, and several other variations, the principal of which were probably occasioned by the errors of transcribers. Most etymologists derive the name from *lam*, *dirt*; and *hyd* or *hyde*, *a haven*. Dr. Ducarel differs with this explanation of the name, and considers that it is derived from *lamb*, *a lamb*; and *hyd*, *a haven*; but that eminent antiquary, Dr. Gale, derives it from the circumstance of its contiguity to a Roman road, or *leman*, which is generally supposed to have terminated at the river at Stangate, from whence was a passage over the Thames."

But in a charter of king Edward (1062) it is Lambehith,* and the name seems very suitable in this form to the circumstances of the situation, an embarking place for agricultural produce, whence easy access could be obtained by ferry to the more densely populated districts of the left bank. King Edward's charter, which seems to relate to a portion only of Lambeth—that now known as Stockwell—and speaks of the fields, pastures, meadows, woods, and waters belonging to it, grants them all to the abbey of Waltham.

This was but four years before the Conquest, and the charter took effect under Harold, but Edward's sister, "the Countess Goda," seems to have been in possession of the original manor, and before her death she and her husband, Eustace of Boulogne, joined to give it to the bishop and monastery of Rochester. This gift seems to have failed; but it is impossible to unravel the confusion which exists between the different statements ancient and modern, the more so as we can seldom feel quite sure which manor is referred to, until William Rufus,† by one of the few acts of the kind recorded of him, gave Lambeth to the convent at Rochester, in avowed reparation of the injuries he had done the church there in his siege of the place. This gift may have been merely a confirmation of the previous gift of Goda; but from it as certain, we may date the connection of Rochester and Lambeth.

* 'Codex Diplom.' No. 813. One William Lamhith was clerk of the works in the Tower in 1360. See Britton and Brayley, 337, and 'Close Rolls,' 34 Edw. III. m. 15.

† We may dismiss altogether a notion supported by some writers that Harold ever held Lambeth. Mr. Freeman has shown the improbability of the story that he placed the crown on his own head at Lambeth. The countess Goda held it till the Conquest, and gave it, perhaps ineffectually, to Rochester. William Rufus makes a new grant, which is perhaps to be taken as in reality a confirmation. His charter is in the British Museum. It is signed with a cross, but is undated.

The first exercise of the new authority is characteristic at once of the times and of the condition of the manor. Bishop Gundulf ordered his vassals to supply him annually with “half a thousand” of those lamprey-eels, to which we have so many references in medieval history, for the better exercise of episcopal hospitality. Ernulf, the next bishop but one, added a salmon to the requirements of the monastery, for the anniversary of bishop Gundulf. Ascelin claimed too much personal interest in Lambeth, and the higher authorities determined that the bishop had only his share of the manor with the monks, although, when business required his attendance in London, he had a lodging assigned him in the manor-house, with forage and fuel.

The convenient situation of this manor-house at Lambeth with regard to the court at Westminster is thus already indicated. Very soon the archbishop of Canterbury began to see that what was convenient for the bishop of Rochester was convenient also for him. He rented the house from the bishop, and at a synod here in 1100 the lawfulness of the marriage of Henry II. with Maud of Scotland was determined. A consecration took place at Lambeth in 1121, when archbishop Ralph was assisted by five bishops, his own successor in the see of Rochester, which he had held between 1108 and 1114, being among them. This identity of the primate with the late bishop of Rochester may have given rise to the archbishop's regular residence in the suburban manor-house. The archbishop continued to live where he had lived when he was only bishop. To judge by the frequency of Lambeth consecrations * in the succeeding years, not only Ralph, but William of Corbeuil, and Theobald, his successors in the primacy, habitually resided here.

* See Stubbs, ‘Episcopal Succession,’ p. 26, &c.

Of Thomas Becket two consecrations only are recorded, and they are both at Canterbury. There is, in fact, nothing to connect the great martyr of the twelfth century with Lambeth, though by one of those curious coincidences which history so constantly offers, the sole institution dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury which has survived the zeal of Henry VIII. is now, so to speak, next door to the manor-house of Lambeth. A house belonging to Geoffrey Becket, the saint's father, at Southwark, where, according to some accounts, the saint himself was born, had been made, in the reign of Henry III., into a hospital. At the dissolution, St. Thomas's Hospital, purchased by the citizens, became an infirmary for the poor. In 1871 it was removed * to its present situation, over against the Houses of Parliament, where the fragment of an embankment protects it, and the archbishop's house beside it, from the incursions of the tide. Strange that the hideous redness of its ungraceful pavilions should spoil the best views of the time-worn towers of St. Thomas's successor at Lambeth!

Many public ceremonials took place at Lambeth during the primacies of Richard and Baldwin. The place gradually became identified with the archbishops ; so much so, indeed, that Baldwin, during his quarrel with the priory at Canterbury, actually proposed to remove the bones of St. Thomas and to found a church in his honour, some say at Lambeth itself, some say at Southwark close by. A church of St. Thomas "in the Green" is spoken of about this time as being among the possessions of the canons of Rochester. It may be the same with the church of St. Thomas "in the hospital." When Hubert Fitzwalter had been three or four years

* To make room for the railway from Charing Cross to London Bridge and Cannon Street.

seated in the chair of St. Thomas, a negotiation was begun and partly completed, by which, in exchange for the manor and advowson of Darenth, in Kent, the bishop and monastery at Rochester gave Lambeth, manor and church, pastures and woods, salmon and lampreys, absolutely to the archbishop and his successors, by whom it was speedily annexed to the see of Canterbury.

The manor-house of Lambeth has continued ever since the chief residence of the archbishops.* Archbishop Potter (1715—1737) was the first to call it a palace, but official documents are still dated *apud domum*, “at our house,” at Lambeth. When Addington was bought, Lambeth had been for some years the only remaining residence of a prelate who, in the middle ages, had been able to travel from Harrow to Canterbury and from Canterbury far into Sussex without resting a night in any but his own houses. The difference between an episcopal palace and a “house” seems to have been correctly drawn in the definition of a palace as “a term appropriated to the mansion of the bishop in the city that gave name to the see.”† If it be so, the archbishop of Canterbury has no palace; and the bishop of London is in the same predicament unless London House, in St. James’s Square, “in the city of Westminster,” can in any sense be described as “in the city that gives name to the see.”

The great state kept here in old times and down almost to the present by the archbishops is often noticed in contemporary accounts. When Laud was appointed, in 1633, the king expressly ordered him to carry himself with the same state and dignity as his predecessors had

* A very interesting account of archiepiscopal Lambeth, in its political aspects more particularly, may be found in Mr. Green’s ‘Stray Studies.’

† Denne. quoted by Allen, ‘History of Lambeth,’ p. 183.

before used and enjoyed ; an injunction which he took, as it was probably meant, to refer not to his immediate predecessors, but to the great archbishops before the Reformation, when, to speak of the hospitality alone, there were generally three tables spread in the hall—one for the archbishop and his guests, persons only of the upper nobility or high in office ; the second, at which sat the upper clergy, such as bishops and abbots, under the chairmanship of the almoner ; and the steward's table, at which sat ordinary people, such as mere gentlemen. It was thought very condescending of Cranmer that he admitted his suffragan, Thornden, bishop of Dover, to his own table. Parker had a table set at the lower end of the hall, "whereat was dailie entertained eight or ten of the poor of the town by turns." This archbishop dined in state three times a week, when he would invite, among others, the state prisoners whom queen Elizabeth had quartered on him, such as Essex, before he was sent to the Tower, and Sussex, his friend, and a brother of the duke of Norfolk. Melancholy parties they must often have been, with Westminster Hall in sight and Tower Hill in a not very distant perspective. The archbishop lodged them handsomely and charged them nothing, "saving at their deths he had from them some part of their libraries that thei had thar." *

The collection of a library by other means than the impounding of the books of poor noblemen who had lost their heads was the care of many archbishops. At the great rebellion, when the manor-house was sold for 7000*l.* to Scott and Hardy, who speedily quarrelled over their bargain, the books were with difficulty saved. Selden claimed them for the University of Cambridge,

* Parker, quoted by Allen, p. 239.

under some forgotten provision in archbishop Bancroft's will, and though they had already gone to Sion College, and many had been lost, a fair number survived to return after the Restoration and remain still at Lambeth. One volume only bears the arms of the unfortunate Laud,* and one those of Parker, but many must have belonged to both, being sometimes religious works of doubtful orthodoxy retained by the archbishop when they were sent for his imprimatur. Among them are of course books which occur nowhere else, and are for that reason, if for no other, very valuable. Old accounts of the library always notice a volume† among the manuscripts which was supposed to contain a portrait of Caxton, the first English printer, though how his likeness could come to be in an unprinted book written by another person was not explained. Another book which bore a false character was only identified a few years ago as a portion—the New Testament—of the famous Bible, undated, which is believed to have been the first book printed with movable type. After passing for centuries as a manuscript, for it is printed on vellum and beautifully illuminated, it was found to be a printed book in 1871.‡

The chapel is probably the oldest of the existing buildings, being always attributed to Boniface of Savoy, who is sometimes said to have built it as a reparation

* I have seen at a sale a folio prayer-book with the arms of Laud quite visibly impressed on pasteboard covers from which the leather had been stripped.

† 'The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers,' translated by earl Rivers, who is represented introducing his scribe or illuminator to Edward IV. Dated 1476.

‡ 'Arch. Journ.,' 1872. It was a complete copy of this book which fetched 3600*l.* in the Perkins sale in 1873. For a full description of the MSS., see Kershaw's 'Art Treasures of Lambeth Library.'

for the scandal he had caused by his assault on the prior of St. Bartholomew. It is difficult to see how a chapel at Lambeth could atone for an injury at Smithfield, and it is very possible that Boniface only completed what others had begun. At Canterbury his contribution to the rebuilding of the palace was the payment of the expenses left him by his predecessors : "I seem, indeed," he complained, with some reason, "to be truly the builder of this hall, because I paid their debts."

Laud found the old windows very much broken, and set himself, with the help of his secretary, to make out the story of each and repair them. The Commons, at his trial, alleged against him that he had taken the pictures out of a mass book. They contained the whole history of the world from the Creation to the Day of Judgment, with types and antitypes, and must have closely resembled the windows which still in part remain at Canterbury of a slightly earlier date. All were destroyed in 1643, when, as one historian quaintly says in the words of Scripture, the Reformers "under pretence of abhorring idols, made no scruple of committing sacrilege." They were not content with this desecration, but Hardy, the first purchaser of the house, dug up the body of archbishop Parker, which had been buried at "that part of the chapel where he used to pray," and selling the coffin for old lead, deposited the remains in the stable yard, whence they were afterwards recovered by the care of Sir William Dugdale, under the orders of Juxon, and are now buried under a plain altar tomb at the south side of the western end.

A complete history of the archbishops' residence at Lambeth would be a history of England. Many ancient chambers perished when archbishop Howley rebuilt the domestic part of what must have been a very incon-

venient dwelling-house. But we can still identify the court into which More looked down from a window while the clergy pressed to take the new oath of allegiance,* though the chamber, in which he assured Cranmer of his own final refusal, is gone. It was probably from the same gallery that queen Elizabeth heard a sermon when a movable pulpit was placed in the court for the preacher. The gate is much as it was left by cardinal Morton, the Chancellor of Henry VII., but it has recently been scraped and pointed by way of "restoration." The hall is Juxon's, and now contains the library, but in the original building Pole's body must have lain in state for the forty days before it was removed to Canterbury ; and here, long before, the duke of Brittany did homage to Edward III., and the rebels of 1381 drank the archbishop's wine.

Of the memorable scenes at Lambeth in later times it would be impossible to make even a catalogue here. But it is not easy to pass the corner by the gate and the church tower and not remember the winter night in 1688 when queen Mary of Modena cowered with her infant beneath the old walls, while the rain beat on her head for an hour before even a common coach could be procured to take her to Gravesend ; or that June evening, three years later, when Dr. Sancroft, sometime archbishop, walked out from under Morton's archway, and took a boat for the Temple, on his way into the retirement of his native village; or the strange scene presented by the appearance of czar Peter in the chapel at the ordination of a priest by archbishop Tenison.

In Lambeth church were buried archbishops Bancroft, Tenison, Secker, Hutton, and Cornwallis, as well as bishops Thurlby and Tunstall, who had been prisoners

* Green's 'History,' vol. ii. p. 168.

in charge of archbishop Parker. Ashmole, the antiquary, was buried in the church, and Tradescant, whose collections went to augment those of Ashmole at Oxford, in the churchyard.

Stockwell and Vauxhall are ancient manors in the parish, which extends uphill from the river's bank to the Crystal Palace, and is a good example of the long, narrow pattern after which so many old parishes were modelled, comprising a piece of high ground, a belt of forest, and a meadow in the valley. A third manor is more interesting. Kennington has undergone greater vicissitudes than Lambeth. In its earlier history it is usually connected with the death of Harthacnut in 1042, and sometimes with the coronation of Harold. But it is quite certain that Harold was crowned across the water at Westminster, and it may be considered more than probable that Harthacnut died at the house of Osgod Clapa, perhaps in the adjoining manor of Clapham.* At the wedding feast of Gytha, Osgod's daughter, with Tovi, a noble Dane, he fell down and died suddenly, after an excessive draught of wine. The chronicle places the event at Lambeth.

At the time of the survey Kennington belonged to Teodric, the king's goldsmith,† who held of the king, as he had held in the time of the Confessor. In the reign of Richard I. the king had possession of it, and made Robert Percy his steward. Henry III.‡ gave the office

* It has been objected to this derivation of Clapham, Clapa's home or ham, that in the register of Chertsey Abbey a gift of 200 pence from lands at Clapheham in the time of king Alfred, is recorded. But the register is of a date many centuries later than the gift, and the name may have been used, in reciting it, for convenience.

† 'Teodricus aurifaber tenet de rege Chenintune.'

‡ This king is said to have held a Parliament at Kennington (Wilkinson, i. 149), but it was probably only a council or conference.

to Richard Freemantell. Edward I. sometimes resided at Kennington, which must have been one of the most convenient hunting grounds within easy reach of Westminster. It belonged a few years later to the king's cousin, the earl of Surrey; but Edward II. obtained it from the earl in 1316, and gave it shortly after to one of his foreign favourites. Three years later he granted it away again, it having probably reverted to the crown at one of the periodical banishments of aliens, and in 1322, having a third time resumed it, he gave the manor to the Despencers. The heiress of one of the previous grantees obtained it on the attainder of the Despencers, and it came back to the crown for the last time when Edward III. exchanged for it some lands in Suffolk. He made it a portion of the endowment of the duke of Cornwall, and it still belongs to the lands of the duchy.

After the death of the Black Prince, the young Richard and his mother lived at Kennington, and here, just before the old king, his grandfather died, a strange scene, recorded by several annalists, took place in the manor-house. It was early in the year, in Lent. The duke of Lancaster, Richard's uncle, had been at a feast in the city at the house of William de Ypres,* a Flemish merchant of great wealth. As they were about to sit down to eat oysters, we are told, a soldier burst in with the news that the mob, incensed at the duke for his behaviour to bishop Courtenay in St. Paul's at a Synod to which Wycliffe had been cited,† were assembled at the gates of his house at the Savoy, clamouring for his blood. Leaving their oysters untasted, the duke and his companion lord Percy, who had also made himself unpopular, rushed to the river-side, and took a boat for

* In Great St. Thomas Apostle, City.

† See above, vol. i., chap. viii.

Kennington, on the opposite bank. Arrived there they threw themselves on the protection of the princess and her son, who, young as he was, had a few days before been commissioned to open Parliament in his grandfather's name, and who was already a personage of consideration. The princess comforted them as best she could, "promittens," says one chronicler, in very English Latin, "se facturum talem finem de hiis omnibus, qui foret eis satis accommodus." And she appears to have been as good as her word.

A little before this event Kennington had seen a more cheerful sight. A hundred and thirty of the principal citizens rode out on Candlemas night disguised as mummers "to Kennington, besides Lambeth," and made presents to the prince and his mother, who was still "the Fair Maid of Kent" in their eyes, though a few years later her popularity had waned. The maskers had provided themselves with loaded dice, and having by dumb show indicated their desire to throw on the table with the prince, they so arranged that he "did alwais winne when he came to cast at them. Then the mummers set to the prince three jewels, one after another, which were a boule of gold, a cup of gold, and a ring of gold, which the prince wonne at three casts." Richard, to the end of his life, seems to have thought the dice were always loaded in his favour.

Though Wat Tyler's rebels four years later sacked Lambeth they spared Kennington, and we do not hear much of it until Henry VII. rested there just before his coronation. Queen Elizabeth on her way to Greenwich does not seem to have honoured Kennington with a visit, but stayed with the archbishop at Lambeth; and the house probably fell into decay, for in the next reign it was completely rebuilt by James I. for Henry, Prince of

Wales. A few years later we find a survey made of the manor of Kennington, with the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof lying and being in the county of Surrey, "late parcel of the possessions of Charles Stuart, eldest son of Charles Stuart, late King of England, as part of his Duchy of Cornwall." The house was probably pulled down at this time, and we hear no more of Kennington as a royal residence, though as late as 1786 two large vaults were discovered ; "but whether of Saxon or Gothic architecture is out of the power of any person living to determine," says Allen, writing in 1827, when he should have known better. A long barn and a few other outbuildings remained almost down to our own day, but rows of houses, terraces and villas, taverns, shops and churches, have obliterated even the ground plans.* The house stood near what are now Park Street and Park Place.

The Vauxhall Gardens, mentioned by Addison as having been visited by Sir Roger de Coverley, were situated close to the foot of Vauxhall Bridge, and had a longer lease of life than is usual with suburban places of amusement, as they subsisted until a few years ago from the reign of Charles II. Hogarth in his day, was employed on the decorations, and designed the tickets, which, cast or chased in precious metals, are still sought after by collectors of curiosities.

Kennington Common has been kept tolerably open, and the Oval is celebrated now for cricket matches. The church, St. Mark's, is said to stand on the old place of public execution for the county, the scene of Shenstone's coarse but affecting ballad, "Jemmy Dawson."

* Mr. Henry MacLauchlan published a map of the old roads and boundaries and an interesting paper on the last remains of the manor-house in the 'Archæological Journal' in 1872.

Opposite Chelsea, and a little higher up the river than Lambeth, is Battersea. The name has been almost as much the subject of guesswork as that of Lambeth. It is given in the Domesday Book as Patricesy, for which reason Aubrey derives it from St. Patrick. But the church is dedicated to St. Mary. A much more probable derivation therefore, is that offered by Lysons : "as the same record which calls it Patricesy, mentions that it was given to St. Peter, it is not improbable that it was so called in consequence of that donation."* This is not, however, quite satisfactory, because it must have had a name before it was "given to St. Peter," and that name appears even then to have been Battersea, or Peter's Ey. But the name may have been that of an ancient owner, Peter ; or it may have arisen from the fact that at a much earlier period than the date of the compilation of the Domesday Book, a considerable portion of the parish belonged to another abbey of St. Peter, that, namely, of Chertsey. But by a curious coincidence the most eminent in the list of vicars was the famous bishop Patrick, who held Battersea from 1657 to 1675, and was vicar here when he and Dr. Jane had a conference in the presence of James II. with two priests of the Church of Rome. The Protestant divines got so much the better of their opponents, that the king "retired in disgust, saying, that he never heard a good cause so ill defended, or a bad one so well."

The parish of Battersea in its original state reached to Penge, and was bounded on the east by Lambeth, and on the west by Wandsworth : a part of Clapham

* 'Environs,' i. 19. A recent writer contrives to sum up both derivations in a single ambiguous sentence ;— "Battersea, or Patrick's-eye, is said to have taken its name from St. Patrick or St. Peter, because in ancient days it belonged to the Abbey of St. Peter at Westminster."

Common belonging to the inhabitants. Penge Common, of which but little now remains, was once two miles in circumference, and joined Battersea on that side to Beckenham. Here we are only concerned with that part of the old parish which is near the river-side. Strange to say, though it is so much nearer London, it has retained its rural appearance better than the more distant Penge. Battersea Park, which lies along the Thames bank from the Chelsea Suspension Bridge to the Albert Bridge, which crosses at Cheyne Walk, is very accessible to the inhabitants of both banks, and is admirably laid out. It was formed in 1858, after some six years of delay and preparation, and occupies 185 acres of what was previously in great part low marshy ground. The colonnade which once adorned the courtyard of Burlington House, in Piccadilly, was removed to Battersea Park, but by some strange neglect on the part of the authorities, the numbered stones lie there to suffer decay from damp and frost, and have never been set up.

A little way south-west from Battersea Park formerly stood the mansion of the St. Johns : and here Henry St. John, the statesman, lived and died in retirement, after his return from abroad. He had been living at Dawley, near Harlington, in Middlesex,* for ten years or more, when, after a few years in France, on the death of his father, he became possessed of Battersea, being already sixty-four years of age. The St. Johns were a long-lived race. Bolingbroke's father lived to be almost ninety. His story was even more strange than that of his son : for he was under sentence of death for upwards of half a century. During an after-supper quarrel at the Globe Tavern, in which he and several other young gentlemen took part with drawn swords, Sir William

* There is an interesting account of Dawley in Thorne, i. 138.

Estcourt* was killed. It was, and always remained, a question who had killed him, but Henry St. John, as he was then, and another youth were accused. Finally, as proof was weak, St. John was advised to confess, and promised lenient treatment if he did so. He complied, was convicted, and sentenced to die. It was then found that by some legal technicality the king could not pardon him. He was, however, indefinitely reprieved, but his estates were forfeited, and he had to pay 16,000*l.* for their redemption. There is a proverb about threatened lives, and certainly lord St. John's was no exception. In 1712 his son Henry, the statesman, was made viscount Bolingbroke, with remainder to his father. In 1714, the viscount was attainted, and his title forfeited during his lifetime at least: but in 1716 old Sir Henry was himself made a viscount as lord St. John, and the son, after losing the title he had acquired for himself, inherited that of his father in 1742. Both are still extant, and are held by a descendant of his brother, for the attainder did not affect the Bolingbroke peerage after its original grantee was dead, owing to the clause of remainder. There would be something more than usually strange in the whole story, even if the people concerned were of the most ordinary character. But, stranger still, it seems as if it was at one time the normal state of the St. John family to be put under sentence of death and afterwards to attain a viscountcy: for in the reign of Elizabeth Oliver St. John killed one Best, of the queen's body-guard, and had to fly. He joined the army in Ireland, performed prodigies of valour, was given the manor of Battersea by James I., and was made viscount Grandison.

* He was the third baronet of Newton, Wilts, and at his death the title, created in 1627, became extinct. His elder brother, Sir Giles, had been killed in Italy.

He left no children, and bequeathed Battersea to a nephew, whose grandson was also in trouble with the authorities, but not till after his death, for his funeral at Battersea was conducted with so much state and solemnity, that the heralds prosecuted his executor.* Magnificent as the ceremony was, more becoming a duke than a baronet, there is no entry of the burial in the parish register.

Battersea church was rebuilt in 1777, but the monuments of the St. Johns and others were carefully preserved, an example to the professing restorers of our own day. Among them is one to lord Grandison; and one to Sir Edward Wynter, who died in 1686, having performed some remarkable feats of strength, which are carved on his tomb, and celebrated in his epitaph :—†

“Alone, unarm’d a tyger he oppress’d,
And crush’d to death the monster of a beast ;
Twice twenty mounted Moors he overthrew,
Singly on foot ; some wounded, some he slew,
Dispers’d the rest.—What more could Sampson do ?”

But the visitor will look with most interest at the monument of queen Anne’s great minister and its untruthful inscription. If he wrote it himself, as is probable, it cannot be considered a good specimen of his celebrated style :—

“Here lies Henry St. John, in the reign of Queen Anne, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, and Viscount Bolingbroke : in the days of King George the First and King George the Second, something more and better. His attachment to Queen Anne exposed him to a long and severe persecution ; he bore it with firmness of mind, the enemy of no national party, the friend of no

* Lysons, 29. A similar prosecution is mentioned in chap. xix.

† Cunningham, i. 65.

faction ; distinguished (under the cloud of a proscription, which had not been entirely taken off) by zeal to maintain the liberty, and to restore the ancient prosperity of Great Britain."

Some fragments of Battersea house remained in the occupation of a miller till very lately. The estate was sold soon after Henry St. John's death to the Spencers, who had already inherited the almost adjoining manor of Wimbledon. The archbishops of York had for some centuries a villa at Battersea, the site of which is still pointed out.

East of Lambeth and Kennington, and occupying the centre of the peninsula, is Newington. A farm or settlement outside the walls of Southwark was very early known as Wal-worth, a name sufficiently indicative of the situation. It is called Waleorde in Domesday Book, and having been given by king Edmund to his jester, "Nithardus," perhaps Neatherd, in English, was by him, on his repentance, and on the eve of a pilgrimage to Rome, given to the church of Canterbury, to which, or to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, it still belongs. Wal-worth was the only manor in Newington, which, indeed, seems to have sprung into a separate existence since the Conquest. It is not mentioned in Domesday, and the name may signify "new town." In 1066 the land on which "Neweton," or "Newenton," as it seems to have been called at first, was actually under water. It still lies very low, though it has been greatly banked up, but such a name as that of Newington Causeway, which still belongs to one of the streets, is enough to betoken the nature of the site.* The parish is often called Newington Butts, to distinguish it from Newington, or Stoke

* Lysons mentions a flood in 1755, during which people were conveyed from the church to St. George's church in boats.

Newington, at the other side of London. The butts were used by archers when Walworth and Newington were open fields. They are first mentioned in 1558.

The eastern side of the peninsula, which I have described as being formed by the great bend of the Thames at London, was occupied by a monastic manor, now covered by, perhaps, the most noisome and unsavoury corner of the suburbs. There are no offensive smells in any other town which may not be matched or surpassed in Bermondsey, among the tanners, the floor-cloth makers, the soap-boilers, the candle-moulders, and a hundred others, some of whose trades are too offensive for mention, yet here a few centuries ago invalids came on account of the purity of the air, and one king, at least, with several queens, may be named as having resorted to Bermondsey and Rotherhithe for health.

Who was the Bermond* that gave his name to the "ey," or "ait"? What is the meaning of Rotherhithe? Was there an island here, a refuge of rowers, or an archipelago or a peninsula? It is evident from the map that the Roman road to Dover passed by Bermondsey and left it well to the east. There was, therefore, less embanking of the Thames shore here than at Southwark, and the ground must have naturally stood higher to have been reclaimed at all. No doubt the monks did much to improve their rich lands and to let in no more water than was good for their crops. The vinegar-makers profit by their labours, but Bermondsey must always have lain very low and been very damp.†

Bermondsey belonged before the Conquest to Harold,

* Bermond has a Danish sound. Rotherhithe would seem to be the ancient form of the second name, and to point very directly to *redhra*, a rower, or mariner in general.

† See Chapter i. for some remarks on the levels.

and has special mention in Domesday Book for its "new and handsome church."* It continued to be a royal demesne till 1094,† and when William Rufus gave it to the priory of St. Mary, he retained that part which is now Rotherhithe, though in his charter there is no special exception made; "Rodereyam" goes to "Bermondnesia" as well as "Dilewic," and a hide in Southwark. Camberwell was also in the estate, and Henry I. formally added Rotherhithe, so that the priory of St. Saviour, which had been founded in 1082, became extremely wealthy, and its early importance is shown by its selection as his retreat from the world by the earl of Mortaign, whose name occurs so frequently in Domesday. He had a hide of land and a house worth 8*s.* in Bermondsey at the time of the survey. Another great noble, Robert Marmion, in 1113, gave the monks a piece of ground named Withifleet; and in 1434 we can identify it with the mills of Widfleet and "a certain garden called Paris Garden."

The Cluniac monks at Bermondsey remained subject to the abbey in Normandy, from which Aylwin Child,‡ a rich citizen of London, had brought them, until at the request of Richard II., in 1390, John Attilburgh was made first abbot by Boniface IX. The pope, however, did not leave him long at Bermondsey, for towards the end of the same year he was promoted to a bishopric in Germany.§ The abbey was surrendered to Henry VIII. in 1538,|| but some of the monastic buildings were still standing at the beginning of this century, and the last vestiges only disappeared within living memory.

* "Nova et pulchra ecclesia."

† The charter is undated, but must be of that year.

‡ Aylwin Child is sometimes supposed to be the father of Henry Fitz Aylwin or Eylwin, first mayor of London.

§ Of Athelfelden?

|| 1st January, 1537-8

That Bermondsey should have been selected as a health resort is one of the strangest facts in the history of mediæval medical practice. Its reputation was, however, established by the accidental residence in the abbey of a monk who was supposed to understand the art of healing in an eminent degree.

The princess of France, whom Henry V. had married so shortly before his death, and whose little son was already king of England and France, died at Bermondsey Abbey in 1437. Her husband, Owen Tudor, the progenitor of the great dynasty of that name, is one of the most mysterious personages in English history. He was a prisoner in Newgate while his wife lay dying at Bermondsey.* We can only suppose that Katharine must either have gone to Bermondsey to consult a physician, and of her own free will, or because she was sent there by the government of her brother-in-law and placed in a kind of mild captivity. She left her three little sons to the charity of their half-brother the king, himself then only a boy of sixteen.

Half a century later another queen came here to die. Elizabeth Wydvile, already the widow of a simple knight, had married a king, as Katherine, the widow of a king, had married a soldier. Owen Tudor's grandson, the son of one of the orphan boys bequeathed to Henry VI. by his mother, was now on the throne of the Plantagenets,† and Elizabeth Wydvile's daughter was his wife. So had the world gone round. But neither physicians nor the Redriff air could cure her malady, and in 1492 her body was conveyed with sumptuous

* See above, vol. i. chap. ix.

† I use this name here for convenience and in contradistinction to Tudor, though it would be easy to prove that none of the Angevin kings called themselves by it. Edward IV. gave it as a surname to his illegitimate son, Arthur, Lord Lisle.

ceremonies from Bermondsey to the grave of Edward IV.
at Windsor.

The abbey church was taken down very soon after the suppression by Sir Thomas Pope. He bought the lease, at 10*s.* a year rent, which Sir Robert Southwell, Master of the Rolls, had obtained, with the advowson of the parish, from Henry VIII. Pope made himself a noble mansion out of the relics of the monastic buildings. After ten years, however, Southwell, longing perhaps for the fine air of Bermondsey, persuaded Pope to let him have the house back. Eventually Pope sold the manor and advowson to one Robert Trapps, a person whom history has not distinguished except as the ancestor of a family which retained the estate for a century and a half. Sir Thomas Pope's house was afterwards the property of the Ratcliffes, earls of Sussex, of one of whom, the father of Shakespeare's friend, who died here in 1583, we read that he directed his executors to spend 150*l.* in keeping his house open to all for twenty-one days after his death. They actually spent 159*l. 8s. 2d.*

The parish church, another St. Mary, but this time St. Mary Magdalene, has been so repeatedly altered and rebuilt and restored, that it retains nothing of its ancient features. The parish register contains some curious entries, as of the re-marriage in 1604 of a couple who had long been separated, presumably by the sea, and the woman married to another man.

The unpleasant sights and smells of the district, the crowd of small and miserable houses, and the general fogginess of the situation are such that even enthusiastic antiquaries hesitate to visit Bermondsey, though, from the passage through it of the great modern highway, the railroad to the south coast, its general features are but

too familiar to most of us ; and the local names may occasionally be studied from a carriage window. Neckinger Road,* for example, recalls the creek which connected the abbey with the Thames, and which was said to have been made by a great flood in 1294. It occurred on the 18th of October, and is commemorated in various chronicles as "Le Breche." Maze Pond was probably in the garden of the abbot of Battle, whose town house was on a site in the track of the railway, and was long commemorated by Battle Bridge. Sellenger Wharf recalls the residence at Bermondsey of Sir Anthony St. Leger, the lord deputy of Ireland in the reign of Henry VIII., who had a grant of the town-house here of the abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. Abbey Road and Grange Road lead to the little court known as Bermondsey Square, which was once surrounded by monastic buildings second in magnificence only to those of Westminster.†

Rotherhithe had a short separate existence when Edward III. gave his land here to the abbey of St. Mary of Grace on Tower Hill ; but the grant was probably disputed by the abbot of Bermondsey, as the land was eventually given to him, perhaps we might say given back to him. Up to the dissolution there is constantly some confusion as to abbot's land and king's land ; and a grant from Henry VIII. to one Gerard Danett was cancelled by an amicable agreement with the abbot in 1516. Henry IV. resided at Rotherhithe for the benefit of his health, and two of his charters are dated there in July 1412. The church is not remarkable. It is, almost

* Some ridiculous suggestions have been made as to the meaning of this name : thus in 'Notes and Queries' (11 s. vol. 3, p. 417) it is derived from "The Devil's Neckcherchief," a dangerous narrow road between two ditches.

† See Wilkinson's 'Londina Illustrata,' vol. i., for a series of views of the abbey as it appeared sixty years since.

as a matter of course, dedicated to St. Mary, and was built in 1714, when Rotherhithe became a parish. Here lies buried a hero of our nursery legends, Prince Lee Boo, the son of Aba Thulle, King of Goo-roo-raa, in the South Pacific. He died in Paradise Row in 1784, and his epitaph is in the turgid style of the day :—

“ Stop, Reader, Stop ! Let Nature claim a tear,
A prince of *mine*, Lee Boo, lies buried here.”

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE "METROPOLITAN AREA."

THE rapid growth of the suburbs of London, combined with the fact that since 1855 they have been under what may be called a central government in certain particulars, has rendered necessary the adoption of a name. The largest city in the world was anonymous. Its constituent parts had names, but as a whole it had none. The interference of parliament was invoked, and unfortunately for accuracy a phrase was suggested which in the wisdom of our rulers at that day sufficiently described the great city. It was labelled the "Metropolitan Area."

The use of the word "metropolis" as applied to London is of some antiquity. Howell coined a better name as the title of his 'Londinopolis,' published in 1657. In De Laune's 'Present State of London,' published after the Great Fire, though the author himself does not use the term, an admirer who sends him an "Acrostick" does not hesitate to turn a rhyme with it; but the character of his authority may be judged by the opening triplet of the poem :—

" This is the City which the Papal Crew
 Have by their Damn'd Devices overthrew,
 Erected on her old Foundations, New."

The poet goes on to praise the book :—

" The Grandeur of this fam'd Metropolis,
 Arts, Laws, and Customs thou hast shewn in this."

When the Board of Works was formed in 1855, under Sir Benjamin Hall's Act, the name was boldly assumed ; and the Board is appointed "for the purpose of diverting the sewage of the metropolis." Thenceforth this, so to speak, diverting use of the word has been usual ; and the Board now deals with the whole Hundred of Ossulston, the Hundred of Isleworth, certain districts on the southern side of the Thames in the counties of Kent and Surrey, and part of Essex. This constitutes the "Metropolitan Area"; but London, which probably the framers of the Act contemplated under the name of the metropolis, is itself manifestly excepted.

The "Metropolitan Area" has been thus defined.* It is the "Metropolis" within the new tables of mortality, as constituted for all registration, census and poor law matters, and the term is further used for the district over which the Metropolitan Board of Works has jurisdiction. This district does not quite coincide with that concerning which the Registrar-General is busied : since the hamlet of Penge † is excluded, and the hamlet of Mottingham is included. There is again a third district called the "Metropolitan Area" of the Police : it is much more extensive than the "Metropolitan Area" of the Registrar-General or the "Metropolitan Area" of the Board of Works, and extends over the whole of Middlesex ‡ and "the surrounding parishes in the counties of Surrey, Kent, Essex, and Hertford of which

* By Mr. Lewis in his 'Digest of the Census of 1871,' p. 29.

† Penge is, parochially or manorially, in Battersea.

‡ Mr. Lewis adds in a bracket, "exclusive of the city of London" : but London is not and never was in Middlesex. It would be almost as sensible to talk of the whole of Norfolk, exclusive of the city of London. It is this misuse of names on the part of officials that has given us the bewildering term "Metropolitan area," which really means, if it means anything, Canterbury.

any part is within twelve miles from Charing Cross, and those also of which any part is not more than fifteen miles in a straight line from the same point. The police circle round Charing Cross contains all that can be reckoned as properly within the limits of London, and is too extensive for a natural boundary. For many of the parishes within the police district are entirely rural, and are quite sequestered from the great city, while at several points are large towns, of which Croydon is an example, chiefly bound to London by the daily intercourse of their population."

Yet again, there is the Metropolitan Postal District, and it includes city and suburbs alike, consisting of the following divisions:—the E.C. lying close around the General Post Office in St. Martin's-le-Grand; the E. extending to Walthamstow, Leytonstone and North Woolwich; the N. division reaching north from Pentonville nearly to Enfield and Barnet; the N.W. division taking in Hendon and Willesden; the S.E. division reaching from Vauxhall Bridge to Erith, and including Norwood, Penge, and Lewisham; the S.W. division extending westward along the Fulham Road, from Charing Cross to Fulham, and southward as far as Merton and Wimbledon; the W. division stretching out to Acton, Ealing, and Hanwell; and the W.C. division, lying between the City and Charing Cross.

This Postal District, therefore covers an area as large as that of the Metropolitan Board of Works, but is not nearly so extensive as that controlled by the police.

The immense size of this area is denoted by some of the figures mentioned in the annual report of the board. The money spent during a year is two and a half millions. Besides the nine parliamentary boroughs, each sending two members to the house of commons, no

fewer than sixty distinct "villages have in course of time become constituent parts of London." The area is occupied by several thousand streets, "which, if laid end to end, would form a line 1,600 miles long." There are more than half a million different buildings and eleven hundred churches. Within the police district the population is fully four millions. "There are in London more Scotchmen than in Edinburgh, more Irish than in Dublin, more Jews than in Palestine, and more Roman Catholics than in Rome." Compared with the Metropolitan Area, even New York and Paris, the two cities of the world which come nearest to it, are so far behind that both put together would only equal it. The six cities of Great Britain which come nearest to it are Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester with Salford, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield ; but the population of all put together does not equal that of the Metropolitan Area, even if the city of London be taken out. The rateable value is reckoned to amount to upwards of twenty-five million sterling. The whole valuation of the six English cities which come nearest to the "Metropolitan Area" in population is, in the aggregate, about ten millions and a half, so that the value of the "Metropolis" is more than double. Great sums expressed in numbers often convey a clearer idea than any other form of statement, and certainly the statistics offered by London and its suburbs are almost appalling. Since it came into being the board has made 65 miles of main sewers, besides making or renewing 195 miles of smaller drains. The immense cost of works in the Area, the gigantic scale on which everything has to be done, may be gathered from some of the figures given in the annual reports. The Embankments cost three millions of money. The Fire Brigade numbers more than five hundred men ; and there were

more than one thousand eight hundred fires in 1880. In the same time about a quarter of a million has been paid for freeing bridges ; and nearly 40,000*l.* for property through which new streets are to pass. No fewer than one hundred Acts of Parliament referring to the work of the board have been passed in the twenty-six years of its existence. The main drainage system cost four and a half millions, and a few of the statistics have been thus summed-up :—“ There are annually consumed about 2,000,000 quarters of wheat, 400,000 oxen, 1,500,000 sheep, 130,000 calves, 250,000 swine, 8 million head of poultry and game, 400 million pounds of fish, 500 million oysters, 1,200,000 lobsters, and 3,000,000 salmon. The butcher’s meat alone is valued at 50,000,000*l.* The Londoners wash down this vast annual repast by 180 million quarts of porter and ale, 8 million quarts of spirits, and 31 million quarts of wine, not to speak of the 180 million gallons of water supplied every day by the nine water companies. About 1000 collier-vessels yearly bring 3,500,000 tons of coal into London by the river, while the railways supply about 3,000,000 tons more.”*

The most extraordinary thing about this vast Area is the looseness of its governing system. That it is well governed no one can deny. Light and water are provided. Crime is punished. Life is tolerably secure as well from assassins as from pestilence. If dwellers in the Area are robbed of their property it is at least under legalised forms. Yet perhaps one of the most puzzling questions a foreigner could put to an “ Arean,” if I may invent a name, would be involved in any inquiry as to how these satisfactory results are attained. We have no prefects, no mayors, no governors, no syndics. There are divi-

* Baedeker’s ‘Handbook.’ p. 60. These statistics are five years old, and all the figures have been increased since they were compiled.

sional police magistrates, but few of us have ever seen one, and many of us live for years in a district without learning the way to the nearest police court. There are vestries, too, and we see their initials on watercarts, and occasionally receive voting papers, from which we infer that they are elected by the people. But, as a matter of fact, nine-tenths of the dwellers in the "Metropolitan Area" know very little more, and cannot distinguish between the Metropolitan Board of Works, and the Board of Works, which is a department of the government of the country and used to be known as "the Woods and Forests," a title too picturesque for the present age.

The "Metropolitan Board" is annually elected and consists of forty-six members, whose business it is to see to the imposition and laying out of certain taxes, or rates, or, as they would have been called in the 13th century, tallages. The board has no magisterial jurisdiction. It is not a governing body. It does not concern itself with parochial matters. It waters no streets and supplies no gas; but it sees that certain conditions are fulfilled which make watering and lighting possible. Its members project new streets, and obtain parliamentary authority from time to time to contract heavy loans on the security of their rates. They have thus been enabled to make roads more direct in many places, to relieve local traffic, to free bridges. Their greatest and in some senses their best work is the Embankment along the shores of the Thames from Blackfriars to Westminster, with shorter pieces at Chelsea and Lambeth, which cost two millions sterling, and covers all the foreshore where twice a day there used to be an unsightly mud flat. They also carried out a drainage scheme, which according to some authori-

ties will have to be done over again. The sewage question is, even more than the cemetery question, of deep importance, and cannot be considered as in any sense solved.

This is not the place to go into full particulars of the works projected or completed by the Metropolitan Board. Nor need I describe the Underground Railway, or the great stations, or electric lighting, or asphalte pavement, or, in short, any of the wonders which a single generation has seen springing into existence in our Area. My object has rather been to trace those causes in the past which are acting on us now, and, by piecing together into a continuous narrative, so far as it was possible, the many scattered circumstances which have contributed to make London what it is, to enable the student of history to understand and explain things that may often seem to be anomalous in our civic condition.

In conclusion I would wish to point out one example of the effect of ancient circumstances on our modern life. It is common to talk as if the city had refused to take in "wards without," and that the orderly confusion, if I may so term it, of our present parochial system arises from a jealousy or indisposition on the part of the central and ancient nucleus of London, to trouble itself about suburbs. I hope I have shown that this is a mistaken view. The city was never in demesne: the suburbs were on land which belonged to various lords and was parcelled out into various manors, each of which had its courts and its manorial officers, as we have them to this day in Westminster. The citizens could not make way against these forces. I have shown how the Fleet valley was annexed, and with what difficulty. Had other great merchants followed the example of Nicholas Farringdon and bought manors close to the walls, a few more

exceptions might have arisen: but, as we have seen, the greater part of the land was held by the dead hand of the church against which even the wealthiest alderman was powerless. The upstart nobles of the Tudor period were not at all anxious to part with their newly acquired dignity as lords of manors. To them, therefore, and before them to the church, but not to the city, we must ascribe the present condition of the "Metropolitan Area."

APPENDIX A.

*A Calendar of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London
from 1189 to 1882.**

1189.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Henry de Corenhell. Richard FitzReyner.	1195.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Robert Besaunt. Jukel Alderman.
1190.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. John Herlison. Roger le Duc.	1196.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Gerard de Antioch. Robert FitzDuraunt.
1191.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. William de Haverille. John Bokointe.	1197.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Robert Blund. Nicholas Duket.
1192.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Nicholas Duket. Peter Newlay.	1198.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Constantine Fitz- Athulf. Robert le Bel.
1193.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Roger le Duc. Roger FitzAlan.	1199.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Arnold FitzAthulf. Richard Fitz Barthel- meu.
1194.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. William FitzYzabel. William FitzAthulf		

* The early part of this list mainly follows the 'Chronicle of Mayors and Sheriffs, but, as far as 1206, the date is that of the year of service.

1200.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Roger de Desert. Jacob Alderman, (or Bartilmew.)	1209.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Peter le Juvene. William Wite.
1201.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Simon de Aldermane- byri. William FitzAliz.	1210.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Stephen le Gros. Adam de Wyteby.
1202.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Norman Blund. John de Kaye.	1211.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Joce FitzPeter. John Garlaund.
1203.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Walter Brun. William Chamberleyn.	1212.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Constantine le Juvene. Ralph Helyland.
1204.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Thomas de Haverille. Hamo Brond.	1213.	ROGER FITZAYLWIN. Martin FitzAliz. Peter Bath.
1205.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. John Walraven. Richard de Wincestre.	1214.	SERLE LE MERCER. Salomon de Basinges. Hugh de Basinges.
1206.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. John Heliland. Eadmund de la Hale.*	1215.	WILLIAM HARDEL. Andrew Nevelun. John Travers.
1207.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Roger de Wincestre. William Hardel.	1216.	JACOB ALDERMAN, for part, and SALOMON DE BASINGES, for part. Benedict le Seynter. William Blund.
1208.	HENRY FITZAYLWIN. Thomas FitzNeal. Peter le Duc.		

* For 1206 the 'Chronicle of Mayors and Sheriffs' gives the names of Serlo le Mercer and Henry de St. Auban. There is a serious discrepancy between the various lists at this point, owing possibly to some change in the date of the election.

1217.	SERLO LE MERCER. Ralph Helylaunde. Thomas Bukerel.	1227.	ROGER LE DUC. Henry de Cokam. Stephen Bukerel.
1218.	SERLO LE MERCER. Joce le Pesur.* John Vyle.	1228.	ROGER LE DUC. Stephen Bukerel. Henry de Cokam.
1219.	SERLO LE MERCER. John Vyle. Richard Wymbledon.	1229.	ROGER LE DUC. William de Winchestre. Robert FitzJohn.
1220.	SERLO LE MERCER. Richard Rynger. Joce le Juvene.	1230.	ROGER LE DUC. John de Wouborne. Richard FitzWalter.
1221.	SERLO LE MERCER. Richard Renger. Thomas Laumbert.	1231.	ANDREW BUKEREL. Walter le Bufle. Michael de St. Heleyne.
1222.	SERLO LE MERCER. Thomas Laumbert. William Joyner.	1232.	ANDREW BUKEREL. Henry de Edelmeton. Gerard Bat.
1223.	RICHARD RENGER. John Travers. Andrew Bukerel.	1233.	ANDREW BUKEREL. Roger Blund. Symon FitzMary.
1224.	RICHARD RENGER. Andrew Bukerel. John Travers.	1234.	ANDREW BUKEREL. Raphe Eswy. John Norman.
1225.	RICHARD RENGER. Martin FitzWilliam. Roger le Duc.	1235.	ANDREW BUKEREL. Gerard Bat. Robert Hardel.
1226.	RICHARD RENGER. Martin FitzWilliam. Roger le Duc.	1236.	ANDREW BUKEREL. Henry Cokham. Jordan de Coventre.

* Pesur, bell maker.

1237.	ANDREW BUKEREL,* RICHARD RENGER. John Tuleson. Gervais Chamberleyn, or of Walebroc.	1246.	JOHN GISORS. Symon FitzMary. Lawrence de Frowyk.
1238.	RICHARD RENGER.† John de Wilehale. John de Koudres.	1247.	PETER FITZALAN. William Vyel. Nicholas Bat.
1239.	WILLIAM JOYNIER. Ralph Eswy. Reginald de Bungeye.	1248.	MICHAEL THOVY. Nicholas FitzJocey. Geoffrey de Wyncestre.
1240.	GERARD BAT. John de Geseorz. Michael Thovy.	1249.	ROGER FITZROGER. John Tulesan. Ralph Hardel.
1241.	REGINALD DE BUN- GEYE. John Vyel. Thomas de Dureme.	1250.	JOHN NORMAN. William FitzRichard. Humfrey le Fevre.
1242.	RALPH ESWY. John FitzJohn. Ralph Eswy.	1251.	ADAM BASING. Nicolas Bat. Lawrence de Frowyk.
1243.	RALPH ESWY. Hugh Blund. Adam de Giseburne.	1252.	JOHN TULESAN. William de Duresme. Thomas de Wymburne.
1244.	MICHAEL THOVY. Nicholas Bat. Ralph de Bow.	1253.	NICHOLAS BAT. Richard Pikard. John de Northampton.
1245.	JOHN GYSEORZ. Robert de Corenhelle. Adam de Benetleye	1254.	RALPH HARDEL. William Eswy. Robert de Linton.

* Bukerel died in office.

† Renger died in office, and was succeeded towards the close of the year by Joynier.

‡ So Chron., p. 10. Stow makes Bungeye mayor.

1255.	RALPH HARDEL. Matthew Bukerel.* John le Mynur.	1264.	THOMAS FITZTHOMAS. Edward Blund. Peter FitzAuger.
1256.	RALPH HARDEL. William Eswy. Richard Ewell.	1265.	THOMAS FITZTHOMAS. Gregory de Rokesle. Simon de Hadestok. Sir HUGH FITZOTES, <i>Warden.</i> John Addrien, Walter Hervi, <i>bailiffs.</i>
1257.	RALPH HARDEL. Thomas FitzThomas. William Grapefige.†	1266.	WILLIAM FITZ- RICHARD, <i>Warden.</i> John Addrien. Luke de Battencourt, <i>bailiffs.</i>
1258.	WILLIAM FITZ- RICHARD. John Addrien. Robert de Corenhelle.	1267.	ALAN DE LA SOUCHE, <i>Warden.</i> John Addrien. Luke de Battencourt.
1259.	WILLIAM FITZ- RICHARD. Adam Bruning. Henry de Coventre.	1268.	Sir STEPHEN DE ED- DEWORTHE, <i>Warden.</i> Walter Harvy. William de Dureham.
1260.	WILLIAM FITZ- RICHARD. John de Norhampton. Richard Pikard.	1269.	Sir HUGH FITZOTES, <i>Warden.</i> Thomas de Basinges. Robert de Corenhelle. JOHN ADDRIEN. Philip le Tailour. Walter le Poter.
1261.	THOMAS FITZTHOMAS. Philip le Tailour. Richard de Walebroc.		
1262.	THOMAS FITZTHOMAS. Osbert de Suthfolch. Robert de Munpelers.		
1263.	THOMAS FITZTHOMAS. Thomas de Ford. Gregory de Rokesle.		

* For part of 1254 new sheriffs were elected, Doo, or Oystergate and Waleraunde, as Eswy and Linton were in the Tower.

† The sheriffs were twice changed in 1257.

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| <p>1270. JOHN ADDRIEN.
Gregory de Rokesle.
Henry Waleys.</p> <p>1271. WALTER HARVY.
Richard de Paris.
John de Buddele.</p> <p>1272. WALTER HARVY.
John Horn.
Walter le Poter.</p> <p>1273. HENRY LE WALEYNS.
Henry de Coventre.
Nicolas FitzGeoffrey of
Winchester.</p> <p>1274. GREGORY DE ROKESLE.
Luke de Batencourt.
Henry de Frowick.</p> <p>1275. GREGORY DE ROKESLE.
John Horne.
Ralph de Blount.</p> <p>1276. GREGORY DE ROKESLE.
Ralph d'Arras.
Raphe le Fevre.</p> <p>1277. GREGORY DE ROKESLE.
John Adrian.
Walter Lengleys.</p> <p>1278. GREGORY DE ROKESLE.
William le Mazerier.
Robert de Basinge.</p> <p>1279. GREGORY DE ROKESLE.
Thomas Box.
Ralph De la More.</p> <p>1280. GREGORY DE ROKESLE.
William de Farendon.
Nicolas de Winchester.</p> | <p>1281. HENRY WALEYNS.
William Mazerier.
Richard de Chikewel.</p> <p>1282. HENRY WALEYNS.
Walter le Blount.
Anketin de Betevil.</p> <p>1283. HENRY WALEYNS.
Martyn Box.
Jordan Godchep.</p> <p>1284. GREGORY ROKESLEY.
Stephen de Cornhill.
Robert de Rokesle.</p> <p>1285. Sir RALPH DE SAND-
WICH, <i>Warden</i>.
Walter le Blount.
John Wade.</p> <p>1286. Sir RALPH DE SAND-
WICH, <i>Warden</i>.
Thomas Crosse.
Walter Hawtein.</p> <p>1287. Sir RALPH DE SAND-
WICH, <i>Warden</i>.
William de Hereford.
Thomas de Stanes.</p> <p>1288. Sir JOHN DE BRETON,
<i>Warden</i>.
William de Betaigne.
John de Caunterbury.</p> <p>1289. Sir RALPH DE SAND-
WICH, <i>Warden</i>.
Fulke de St. Edmund.
Salamon le Coteller.</p> |
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1290.	Sir RALPH DE SANDWICH, <i>Warden.</i> Thomas Rumeyne. William de Leyre.	1298.	HENRY WALEIS. Richer de Refham. Thomas Saly.
1291.	Sir John DE BRETON, <i>Warden.</i> Ralph le Blount. Hamond Box.	1299.	ELIAS RUSSEL. John d'Armentiers. Henry de Fingry.
1292.	Sir RALPH DE SANDWICH, <i>Warden.</i> Henry le Bole. Elias Russel.	1300.	ELIAS RUSSEL. Lucas de Haverin. Richard de Chaumpes.
1293.	Sir JOHN LE BRETON, <i>Warden.</i> Robert de Rokesle. Martyn Aumesberry.	1301.	JOHN LE BLOUNT. Peter de Bosenho. Robert le Caller.
1294.	Sir JOHN LE BRETON, <i>Warden.</i> Richard de Gloucester. Henry Box.	1302.	JOHN LE BLOUNT. Simon de Paris. Hugh Pourte.
1295.	Sir JOHN LE BRETON, <i>Warden.</i> John de Dunstable. Adam de Hallingbury.	1303.	JOHN LE BLOUNT.† William Coumbe-martin. John de Boreford.
1296.	Sir JOHN LE BRETON, <i>Warden.</i> Adam de Fulham. Thomas de Suffolk.	1304.	JOHN LE BLOUNT. John de Nicole. Roger de Paris.
1297.	HENRY WALEIS.* John de Storteforde. William de Storteforde.	1305.	JOHN LE BLOUNT. Reginald de Tunderle. William Cosyn.
		1306.	Sir JOHN BLOUNT.‡ Edmond Bolet. Geoffrey at the Conduit.

* Stow omits this first year of Waleis. See 'French Chron.', 244.

† Stow calls le Blount *custos* this year.

‡ He appears to have been knighted this year, and to be the first mayor who obtained this rank : but Stow gives it to several before him.

1307.	SIR JOHN BLOUNT. Nicolas Pycot. Neel Druerye.	1317.	JOHN DE WENGRAVE. William de Furneaux. John Prior.
1308.	NICHOLAS DE FARNDON. James Botiller. William de Basinge.	1318.	JOHN WENGRAVE. John Poyntel. John Dallinge.
1309.	THOMAS ROMEYN. Roger Palmere. James Fouke.	1319.	HAMO DE CHIGWELL. John de Prestone. Symonde Abingdone.
1310.	RICHER DE REFHAM. Symon Corp. Peter de Blakeneye.	1320.	NICOLAS DE FARNDON. William Prudhomme. Reginald at Conduit.
1311.	JOHN GISORS. Richard de Welford. Simon Mereworthe.	1321.	HAMO DE CHIGWELL. Richard Constantin. Richard Hakeneye.
1312.	JOHN GISORS. Adam Lucekyn. John Lambyn.	1322.	HAMO DE CHIGWELL. John de Grantham. Roger de Ely.
1313.	NICOLAS DE FARNDON. Hugh de Barton.* Robert de Burdeyn.	1323.	NICHOLAS DE FARNDONE. Adam de Salesbury. John de Oxenford.
1314.	JOHN GISORS. Stephen de Abingdone. Hamond de Chikewel.	1324.	HAMO DE CHIGWELL. Benit de Folsham. John de Caustone.
1315.	STEPHEN DE ABINGDON. William Bodeleyhg.† Hamod Godchep.	1325.	HAMO DE CHIGWELL. Gilbert de Mordone. John Cotoun.
1316.	JOHN DE WENGRAVE. William Caustone. Ralph la Balaunce.	1326.	HAMO DE CHIGWELL. RICHARD DE BETAINNE.‡ Richard de Rothing. Roger Chaunceler.

* Or Garton.

† Chigwell was implicated with the party of Edward II. Betoynce or Betaigne was an adherent of Queen Isabella.

‡ Or Bodley.

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| 1327. | HAMO DE CHIGWELL.
Henry Darcy.
John Hauteyn. | 1336. | SIR JOHN DE POLTEN-EYE.
William Brikales-worthe.
John de Northall.† |
| 1328. | JOHN DE GRANTHAM.
Simon Fraunceis.
Henry Combemartin. | 1337. | HENRY DARCY.
Walter Nele.
Nicholas Crane. |
| 1329. | SIMON SWANLOND.
Richard Lacer.
William Gisors. | 1338. | HENRY DARCY.
William Pountfreit.
Hugh Marberer. |
| 1330. | Sir JOHN POUNTNEY
OR DE POLTENEYE.
Robert de Ely.
Thomas Horewod. | 1339. | ANDREW AUBRY.
William de Thorneye.
Roger de Forsham. |
| 1331. | Sir JOHN DE POLTEN-EYE.
John de Mokkinge.
Andrew Aubri. | 1340. | ANDREW AUBRY.
Adam Lucas.
Bartholomew Denmars. |
| 1332. | JOHN DE PRESTONE.
Nicolas Pike.
John Husbonde. | 1341. | JOHN OF OXFORD
(died); and SIMON
FRAUNCEIS.
Richard de Berking.
John de la Rokele. |
| 1333. | SIR JOHN POLTENEYE.
John Hamond.
William Haunsard. | 1342. | SIMON FRAUNCEIS.
John Lovekyn.
Richard de Keslingbury.‡ |
| 1334. | REGINALD DEL CONDUYT.
John de Hinggestone.
Walter Turke. | 1343. | JOHN HAMOND.
John Syward.
John Aylesham. |
| 1335. | NICOLAS WOTTON.*
Walter de Mordone.
Richard de Uptone. | 1344. | JOHN HAMOND.
Geffrey Whityngham.
Thomas Legge. |

* The Fr. Chron. says Reginaldo del Conduyt, p. 271.

† Stow says John Clarke and William Curtis were sheriffs. These are perhaps other names for the same men. (See Fr. Chron., by Riley, p. 271, note.)

‡ This is the last entry in Fr. Chron. The next authority is the Chron. by Tyrrell, usually called that of Nicholas.

1345.	RICHARD LACERE. Edmund Hempenale. John Gloucester.	1356.	HENRY PICARD. Richard Notyngham. Thomas Dolcell.
1346.	GEFFREY WHYTING. William Clopton. John Croydon.	1357.	JOHN STODEYE. Stephen Caundyssh. Bartholomew Freling.
1347.	THOMAS LEGGE. Adam Brakson. Richard Basynstoke.	1358.	JOHN LOVEKYN. John Bures. John Bernes.
1348.	JOHN LOVEKYN. Henry Picard. Simon Dolcelle.	1359.	SIMON DOLCELLE. Simon Bedyngton. John of Chichestre.
1349.	WALTER TURK. Adam of Bery. Rauf Lynne.	1360.	Sir JOHN WROTH. John Deynes. Walter Berneye.
1350.	RICHARD KYLSYNGBY. John Notte. William of Worcester.	1361.	JOHN PECCHE. William Holbeche. James Tame.
1351.	ANDREW AUBREY. John Wroth. Gilbert of Steynethorp.	1362.	STEPHEN CAUNDYSSH. John of St. Albons. Jacob Andrewe.
1352.	ADAM FRAUNCEYS. John Pecche. John Stodye.	1363.	JOHN NOTTE. Richard Croydon. John Hiltoft, or Hyktost.
1353.	ADAM FRAUNCEYS. William Welde. John Lytele.	1364.	ADAM OF BERY. Simon Mordon. John Medford.
1354.	THOMAS LEGGE. William Totenham. Richard Smelte.	1365.	ADAM OF BERY. JOHN LOVEKYN. John Bukylsworth. Thomas Ireland.
1355.	SIMON FRAUNCEYS. Thomas Forster. Walter Brandon.	1366.	JOHN LOVEKYN. John Warde. Thomas atte Lee.

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| 1367. | JAMES ANDREW.
John Thorgold.
William Dykeman. | 1377. | NICHOLAS BREMBRE.
Andrew Pykeman.
Nicolas Twyford. |
| 1368. | SIMON MORDON.
Adam Wymondham.
Robert Girdelere. | 1378. | JOHN PHILPOT.
John Boseham.
Thomas Cornwayle. |
| 1369. | JOHN CHICHESTER.
John Pyell.
Hugh Holbech. | 1379. | JOHN HADLEY.
John Heyleston.
William Baret. |
| 1370. | JOHN BERNES.
William Walworth.
Robert of Gayton. | 1380. | WILLIAM WALWORTH.
Walter Coket.
William Knyghtcote. |
| 1371. | JOHN BERNES.
Robert Hatfeld.
Adam Stable. | 1381. | JOHN NORTHAMPTON.
John Hende.
John Roote. |
| 1372. | JOHN PYELL.
John Philpot.
Nicholas Brembre. | 1382. | JOHN NORTHAMPTON.
Adam Bamme.
John Cely. |
| 1373. | ADAM OF BERY.
John Aubray.
John Fyfhede. | 1383. | NICHOLAS BREMBRE.
John Moore.
Simon Wynchecombe. |
| 1374. | WILLIAM WALWORTH.
Richard Lyons.
William Wodehous. | 1384. | NICHOLAS BREMBRE.
Nicholas Exton.
John Frosshe. |
| 1375. | JOHN WARDE.
John Hadley.
William Newport. | 1385. | NICHOLAS BREMBRE.
John Oghgon.
John Chirceman. |
| 1376. | ADAM STABLE.*
NICHOLAS BREMBRE.
John North.
Robert Launde. | 1386. | NICOLAS EXTON.
William More.
William Staundon. |

* "P' p'ceptu regis amotus." Chron. pp. 66, 70.

1387.	NICOLAS EXTON. William Venor. Hugh Fastolf.	1397.	RICHARD WHYTYNG- TON. William Askham. John Wodecok.
1388.	NICOLAS TWYFORD. Adam Karilly. Thomas Austyn.	1398.	DREW BARENTYN. John Wade. John Warnar.†
1389.	WILLIAM VENOR. John Loveye. John Walcote.	1399.	THOMAS KNOLLES. William Waldern. William Hyde.‡
1390.	ADAM BAMME. Thomas Vyvent. John Fraunceys.	1400.	JOHN FRAUNCEYS. William Cnote. John Wakeley.
1391.	JOHN HENDE. John Schadworth. Henry Vaune.	1401.	JOHN SCHADWORTH William Venor. John Fremyngham.
1392.	WILLIAM STAUNDON. Gilbert Maunfeld. Thomas Newenton.	1402.	JOHN WALCOTE. Robert Chichelegh. Richard Merlawe.
1393.	JOHN HADLEY. Richard Whityngton. Drew Barentyn.	1403.	WILLIAM ASKHAM. Thomas Faulconer. Thomas Polle.
1394.	JOHN FROSSH. Thomas Knolles. William Brampton.	1404.	JOHN HENDE. William Louthe. Stephen Spylman.
1395.	WILLIAM MORE. Roger Elys.* William Scheryngham.	1405.	JOHN WODECOK. William Crowmere. Henry Barton.
1396.	A. BAMME (died). R. WHITYNGTON. Thomas Welford. William Parkere.	1406.	RICHARD WHYTYNG- TON. Nicolas Wotton. Geffrey Brook.

* Stow says Sevenoke.

† Stow. "Warv" in Chron. Perhaps Warwick.

‡ Hende, Stow.

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| 1407. | WILLIAM STAUNDON.
Henry Pounfreyt.
Henry Halton. | 1416. | HENRY BARTON.
Robert Whydington.
John Coventry. |
| 1408. | DREW BARANTYN.
William Norton.
Thomas Duke. | 1417. | RICHARD MERLAWE.
Henry Rede.
John Gedeney. |
| 1409. | RICHARD MERLAWE.
John Lane.
William Chichele. | 1418. | WILLIAM SEVENOK.
John Bryan.
Ralph Barton.
John Perveys.‡ |
| 1410. | THOMAS KNOLLES.
Thomas Pyke.
John Penne. | 1419. | RICHARD WHYTNG-
TON.
John Boteler.
Robert Whytyngton. |
| 1411. | ROBERT CHICHELEY.
William Reynwell.*
Walter Cotton. | 1420. | WILLIAM CAMBREGGE.
John Boteller.
John Welles. |
| 1412. | WILLIAM WALDERN.
Ralph Lobenham.
William Sevenok.† | 1421. | ROBERT CHYCHELEY.
John Weston.
Richard Gosselyn. |
| 1413. | WILLIAM CROWMERE.
John Nicholl.
John Sutton. | 1422. | WILLIAM WALDERN.
William Estfeld.
Robert Tatersale. |
| 1414. | THOMAS FAUCONER.
John Michell.
Thomas Aleyn. | 1423. | WILLIAM CROWMERE.
Thomas Wandesford.
Nicolas Jamys. |
| 1415. | NICHOLAS WOTTON.
Alan Everard.
William Caumbregg. | 1424. | JOHN MICHELL.
Simon Seman.
John be the Water. |

* John Rainewell, Stow.

† Sevenok's father was William Rumsched, of Sevenoaks, Kent. Stow,
p. 191.

‡ Bryan was drowned, 10th Oct.; Perveys, or Perneys, was chosen in his
place.

1425.	JOHN COVENTRY. William Milred. John Brokle.	1436.	JOHN MICHELL. William Gregory. Thomas Morstede.
1426.	JOHN REYNWELL. Robert Arnold. John Heigham.	1437.	WILLIAM ESTFELD. William Hales. William Chapman.
1427.	JOHN GEDENEY. Robert Ottele. Henry Frowyk.	1438.	STEPHEN BROUN. Nicolas Yeo. Hugh Dyke.
1428.	HENRY BARTON. John Abbot. Thomas Dufhous.	1439.	ROBERT LARGE. Robert Marchall. Philip Malpas.
1429.	WILLIAM ESTFELD. Raphe Holand. William Russe.	1440.	JOHN PADDISLE. William Whetenale. John Sutton.
1430.	NICOLAS WOTTON. Robert Large. Walter Chertesey.	1441.	ROBERT CLOPTON. William Combe. Richard Riche.
1431.	JOHN WELLES. John Atherley. Stephen Broun.	1442.	JOHN HATHERLE. Thomas Beaumond. Richard Nordon.
1432.	JOHN PARVEYS. John Olneye. John Pattesley.	1443.	THOMAS CATWORTH. Nicolas Wifelde. John Norman.
1433.	JOHN BROKLE. Thomas Chalton. John Lynge.	1444.	HENRY FROWIK. Stephen Forster. Hugh Wich.
1434.	ROGER OTLE. Thomas Bernewell. Simon Eyre.	1445.	SIMON EYRE.* John Derby. Godfrey Feldyng.
1435.	HENRY FROWYK. Thomas Catworth. Robert Clopton.	1446.	JOHN OLNEY. Robert Horne. Geffrey Boleyne.

* "Gyr" in Chron. p. 134.

1447.	JOHN GIDNEY.*	1457.	GEFFREY BOLEVNE.
	Thomas Scot.		William Edward.
	William Habraham.		Thomas Reyner.
1448.	STEPHEN BROUNE.	1458.	THOMAS SCOT.
	William Calowe.		Ralph Joslyn.
	William Marowe.		Richard Nedeham.
1449.	THOMAS CHALTON.	1459.	WILLIAM HEWLYN.
	Thomas Canyng.		John Stokker.
	William Hewlyn.		John Plumer.
1450.	RICHARD WIFOLD.†	1460.	RICHARD LEE.
	William Dere.		John Lombard.
	John Middlton.		Richard Flemyngh.
1451.	WILLIAM GREGORY.	1461.	HUGH WICH.
	Matthew Philip.		George Irland.
	Christopher Water.		John Lok.
1452.	GODFREY FELDYNG.	1462.	THOMAS COKE.
	Richard Alley.		William Hampton.
	Richard Lee.		Bartholomew Jamys.
1453.	JOHN NORMAN.	1463.	MATTHEW PHILIP.
	John Waldeyne.		Thomas Muschamp.
	Thomas Coke.		Robert Bassett.
1454.	STEPHEN FORSTER.	1464.	RALPH JOSLYN.
	John Felde.		John Tate.
	William Tailor.		John Stone.
1455.	WILLIAM MARCHE.‡	1465.	RALPH VERNEY.
	John Yong.		Henry Waver.
	Thomas Holgrave.		William Constantyne.
1456.	THOMAS CANYNGE.	1466.	Sir JOHN YONG.
	John Steward.		John Broun.
	Ralph Verney.		Thomas Brice.
			John Stokton.§

* Sidney in Stow.

† Should be "Nicolas," as above.

‡ Marrow, Stow.

§ Nicolas' Chron. mentions these three sheriffs. It ends with 1482.

1467.	THOMAS HOLGRAVE. Humphrey Hayford. Thomas Stalbroke.	1477.	HUMPHREY HAYFORD. John Stokkes. Henry Colet.
1468.	WILLIAM TAILOR. Symkyn Smyth. William Hariot.	1478.	RICHARD GARDENER. Robert Hardyng. Robert Bifeld.
1469.	RICHARD LEE. Richard Gardener. Robert Drole.	1479.	Sir BARTHOLOMEW JAMYS. Thomas Ilam. John Ward.
1470.	Sir JOHN STOKTON. Sir John Crosby. Sir John Ward.	1480.	JOHN BROWNE. Thomas Danyel. William Bacon.
1471.	WILLIAM EDWARD. John Aleyne. John Shelley.	1481.	WILLIAM HERIET. Robert Tate. William Wikyng. Richard Chaury.*
1472.	Sir WILLIAM HAMP- TON. Thomas Bledlowe. John Browne.	1482.	Sir EDMUND SHAAS. William White. John Mathewe.
1473.	JOHN TATE. Robert Billisdon. Sir William Stokker.	1483.	Sir ROBERT BILLES- DON. Thomas Newland. William Martin.
1474.	Sir ROBERT DROLE. Thomas Hille. Edmond Shaa, or Shaw.	1484.	Sir THOMAS HILL. Sir WILLIAM STOCKER. JOHN WARD.† Richard Chester. Thomas Brittaine. Raphe Austrie.
1475.	ROBERT BASSET. Hugh Brice. Robert Colwich.		
1476.	Sir RALPH JOSLYN. William Horne. Richard Rason.		

* Nicolas' Chron. mentions these three sheriffs. It ends with 1482.

† The year of the Sweating Sickness. From 1483 Stow is our authority.
He fails us in 1602.

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| <p>1485. HUGH BRICE.
John Tate, the younger.
John Swan, or Swans.</p> <p>1486. HENRY COLET.*
John Percivall.
Hugh Clopton.</p> <p>1487. Sir WILLIAM HORNE.
John Fenkel.
William Remington.</p> <p>1488. ROBERT TATE.
William Isaack.
Ralph Tilney.</p> <p>1489. WILLIAM WHITE.
William Caple.
John Brocke.</p> <p>1490. JOHN MATHEW.
Henry Cote.
Robert Revell.
Hugh Pemberton.</p> <p>1491. HUGH CLOPTON.
Thomas Wood.
William Browne.</p> <p>1492. WILLIAM MARTIN.
William Purchase.
William Welbeck.</p> <p>1493. Sir RAPH ASTRIE.
Robert Fabian.
John Winger.</p> <p>1494. RICHARD CHAWRY.
Nicholas Alwine.
John Warner.</p> <p>1495. HENRY COLET.
Thomas Knesworth.
Henry Somer.</p> | <p>1496. Sir JOHN TATE, the
younger.
Sir John Shaa.
Sir Richard Haddon.</p> <p>1497. WILLIAM PURCHASE.
Bartholomew Read.
Thomas Windout.</p> <p>1498. Sir JOHN PERCEVALL.
Thomàs Bradbury.
Stephen Jeninges.</p> <p>1499. NICHOLAS ALDWINE.
James Wilford.
Thomas Brond.</p> <p>1500. WILLIAM RENNING-
TON.
John Hawes.
William Steed.</p> <p>1501. Sir JOHN SHAA.
Lawrence Ailmer.
Henry Hede.</p> <p>1502. BARTHOLOMEW REDE.
Henry Kebel.
Nicolas Nines.</p> <p>1503. Sir WILLIAM CAPELL.
Christopher Hawes.
Robert Watts.</p> <p>1504. Sir JOHN WINGER.
Roger Acheley.
William Browne.</p> <p>1505. Sir THOMAS KNIES-
WORTH.
Richard Shoare.
Roger Grove.</p> |
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* Thom's Stow, p. 103, Henry Cellet.

1506.	Sir RICHARD HADDON. William Copinger. Thomas Johnson. William FitzWilliams.	1514.	Sir GEORGE MONOX. James Yarford. John Mundy.
1507.	WILLIAM BROWNE in part, and LAW- RENCE AYLMER in part. William Butler. John Kyrkby.	1515.	Sir WILLIAM BUTLER. Henry Warley. Richard Grey. William Bailey.
1508.	Sir STEPHEN JENN- INGS. Thomas Exmewe. Richard Smith.	1516.	Sir JOHN REST. Thomas Seymer. John Thurstone.
1509.	THOMAS BRADBURY ; and Sir Wm. CAPELL. George Monox. John Doget.	1517.	Sir THOMAS EXMEWE. Thomas Baldrie. Ralph Simons.
1510.	Sir HENRY KEBBLE. John Milborne. John Rest.	1518.	Sir THOMAS MIRFINE. John Allen. James Spencer.
1511.	Sir ROGER ACHELEY. Nicolas Shelton. Thomas Mirfine.	1519.	Sir JAMES YARDFORD. John Wilkinson. Nicholas Partrich.
1512.	Sir WILLIAM COPIN- GER in part ; and Sir RICHARD HAD- DON, for the rest. Robert Aldernes. Robert Fenrother.	1520.	Sir JOHN BRUG, or BRUGES. John Skevington. John Kyme.
1513.	Sir WILLIAM BROWNE. John Dawes. John Bruges. Roger Basford.	1521.	Sir JOHN MILBORNE. John Breton. Thomas Pargitor.
		1522.	Sir JOHN MUNDY. John Rudstone. John Champneis.
		1523.	Sir THOMAS BALDRIE. Michael English. Nicholas Jennings.

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| 1524. | Sir WILLIAM BAILEY.
Raphe Dodmere.
William Roche. | 1533. | Sir CHRISTOPHER
ASKEW.
William Forman.
Thomas Kitson. |
| 1525. | Sir JOHN ALLEN.
John Caunton.
Christopher Askew. | 1534. | Sir JOHN CHAMPNEIS.
Nicolas Leveson.
William Denhan. |
| 1526. | Sir THOMAS SEYMER.
Stephen Peacock.
Nicolas Lambert. | 1535. | Sir JOHN ALLEN.*
Humfrey Monmouth.
John Cotes. |
| 1527. | Sir JAMES SPENCER.
John Hardy.
William Holleis. | 1536. | Sir RALPH WARREN.
Robert or Richard
Paget.
William Bowyer. |
| 1528. | Sir JOHN RUDSTONE.
Raphe Warren.
John Long. | 1537. | Sir RICHARD GRES-
HAM.
John Gresham.
Thomas Lewin. |
| 1529. | Sir RALPH DODMER.
Michael Dormer.
Walter Champion. | 1538. | Sir WILLIAM FORMAN.
William Wilkinson.
Nicolas Gibson. |
| 1530. | Sir THOMAS PARGITOR.
William Dauntsey.
Richard Champion. | 1539. | Sir WILLIAM HOLLEIS.
Thomas Ferrer.
Thomas Huntlow. |
| 1531. | Sir NICHOLAS LAM-
BERT.
Richard Gresham.
Edward Altham. | 1540. | Sir WILLIAM ROCHE.
William Laxstone.
Martin Bowes. |
| 1532. | Sir STEPHEN PEACOCK.
Richard Reynolds.
John Martin.
Nicholas Pinchon.
John Priest. | 1541. | Sir MICHAEL DORMER.
Rowland Hill.
Henry Suckley. |

* "A privie Counsellor, for his great Wisedome." Stow.

1542.	JOHN COTES. Henry Hobberthorne. Henry Amcoates.	1552.	Sir GEORGE BARNE. William Gerard. John Maynard.
1543.	Sir WILLIAM BOWYER for part, and Sir RALPH WARREN for the rest. John Tholouse. Richard Dobbes.	1553.	Sir THOMAS WHITE. Thomas Offley. William Hewet.
1544.	Sir WILLIAM LAXTON. John Wilford. Andrew Jud.	1554.	Sir JOHN LYON. David Woodroffe. William Chester.
1545.	Sir MARTIN BOWES. George Barne. Ralph Alley.	1555.	Sir WILLIAM GARRET, or GARRARD. Thomas Leigh. John Machel.
1546.	Sir HENRY HOBBER- THORNE. Richard Jarveis. Thomas Curteis.	1556.	Sir THOMAS OFFLEY. William Harper. John White.
1547.	Sir JOHN GRESHAM. Thomas White. Robert Chertsey.	1557.	Sir THOMAS CURTEIS. Richard Mallory. James Altham.
1548.	HENRY AMCOATES. William Lock. Sir John Ayleph.	1558.	Sir THOMAS LEIGH. John Halsey. Richard Champion.
1549.	Sir ROWLAND HILL. John Yorke. Richard Turke.	1559.	Sir WILLIAM HEWET. Thomas Lodge. Roger Martin.
1550.	Sir ANDREW JUD. Augustine Hind. John Lion.	1560.	Sir WILLIAM CHESTER. Christopher Draper. Thomas Rowe.
1551.	Sir RICHARD DOBBES. John Lambert. John Cowper.	1561.	Sir WILLIAM HARPER. Alexander Avenon. Humfrey Baskerville.
		1562.	Sir THOMAS LODGE. William Allen. Richard Chamberlaine.

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| 1563. | Sir JOHN WHITE.
Edward Bankes.
Rowland Heyward. | 1573. | Sir JOHN RIVERS..
James Harvey.
Thomas Pullison, or
Pulloccel. |
| 1564. | Sir RICHARD MALLORY.
Edward Jackman.
Lionel Ducket. | 1574. | JAMES HAWES.
Thomas Blanke.
Anthony Gamage. |
| 1565. | Sir RICHARD CHAM-
PION.
John Rivers.
James Hawes. | 1575. | AMBROSE NICHOLAS.
Edward Osborne.
Wolstane Dixie. |
| 1566. | Sir CHRISTOPHER DRA-
PER.
Richard Lambert.
Ambrose Nicholas.
John Langley. | 1576. | Sir JOHN LANGLEY.
William Kimpton.
George Barne. |
| 1567. | Sir ROGER MARTIN.
Thomas Ramsey.
John Bond. | 1577. | Sir THOMAS RAMSEY.
Nicholas Backhouse.
Francis Bowyer. |
| 1568. | Sir THOMAS ROWE.
John Oleph.
Robert Harding.
James Bacon. | 1578. | Sir RICHARD PIPE.
George Bond.
Thomas Starkie. |
| 1569. | Sir ALEXANDER AVE-
NON.
Henry Beecher.
William Dane. | 1579. | Sir NICHOLAS WOOD-
ROFE.
Martin Calthrope.
John Hart. |
| 1570. | Sir ROWLAND HEYWARD.
Francis Barneham.
William Boxe. | 1580. | Sir JOHN BRANCH.
Ralph Woodcock.
John Alate. |
| 1571. | Sir WILLIAM ALLEN.
Henry Milles.
John Branche. | 1581. | Sir JAMES HARVIE.
Richard Martin.
William Webbe. |
| 1572. | Sir LIONELL DUCKET.
Richard Pipe.
Nicholas Woodroffe. | 1582. | Sir THOMAS BLANCKE.
William Roe.
John Hayden.
Cuthbert Buckle. |

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| 1583. EDWARD OSBORNE.
William Masham.
John Spencer. | 1592. Sir WILLIAM ROE.
John Garrard.
Robert Taylor. |
| 1584. Sir THOMAS PULLISON.
Stephen Slany.
Henry Billingsley. | 1593. Sir CUTHBERT BUCKLE
for part, and Sir
RICHARD MARTIN
for the rest.
Paule Banning.
Peter Hauton. |
| 1585. Sir WOLSTANE DIXIE.
Anthony Radcliffe.
Henry Pranell. | 1594. Sir JOHN SPENCER.
Robert Lee.
Thomas Benet. |
| 1586. Sir GEORGE BARNE.
Robert House.
William Elkin. | 1595. Sir STEPHEN SLANY.
Thomas Lowe.
Leonard Holiday. |
| 1587. Sir GEORGE BOND.
Thomas Skinner.
John Katcher. | 1596. Sir THOMAS SKINNER
for part, and Sir
HENRY BILLINGS-
LEY for the rest.
John Wattes.
Richard Godard. |
| 1588. Sir MARTIN CALTHROP
for part, and Sir RICH-
ARD MARTIN for the
rest.
Hugh Offley.
Richard Saltenstall. | 1597. Sir RICHARD SALTEN-
STALL.
Henry Roe.
John More. |
| 1589. Sir JOHN HART.
Richard Gurney.
Stephen Some. | 1598. Sir STEPHEN SOME.
Edward Holmeden.
Robert Hampson. |
| 1590. Sir JOHN ALLOT for
part, and Sir Row-
LAND HEYWARD for
the rest.
Nicholas Moseley.
Robert Broke. | 1599. Sir NICHOLAS MOS-
LEY.
Humphrey Welde.
Roger Clarke. |
| 1591. Sir WILLIAM WEBB.
William Rider.
Benet Barnham. | |

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| 1600. Sir WILLIAM RIDER.
Thomas Cambell.
Thomas Smith.
William Craven. | 1610. Sir WILLIAM CRAVON.
Richard Pyat.
Francis Jones. |
| 1601. Sir JOHN GARRARD.
Henry Anderson.
William Glover. | 1611. Sir JAMES PEMBERTON.
Edward Barkham.
George Smithes. |
| 1602. ROBERT LEE.
James Pemberton.
John Swinerton. | 1612. Sir JOHN SWINNERTON.
Edward Rotherham.
Alexander Prescot. |
| 1603. Sir THOMAS BENNET.
Sir William Rumney.
Sir Thomas Middleton. | 1613. Sir THOMAS MIDDLETON.
Thomas Bennet.
Henry Jaye. |
| 1604. Sir THOMAS LOWE.
Sir Thomas Hayes.
Sir Roger Jones. | 1614. Sir THOMAS HAYES.
Peter Proby.
Martin Lumley. |
| 1605. Sir LEONARD HALLIDAY.
Sir Clement Scudamore.
Sir John Jolles. | 1615. Sir JOHN JOLLES.
William Goare.
John Goare. |
| 1606. Sir JOHN WATS.
William Walhall.
John Lemon. | 1616. Sir JOHN LEMAN.
Allen Cotton.
Cuthbert Hacket. |
| 1607. Sir HENRY ROWE.
Geffrey Elwes.
Nicholas Style. | 1617. GEORGE BOLLES.
William Hollyday.
Robert Johnson. |
| 1608. Sir HUMPHREY WELD.
George Bolles.
Richard Farrington. | 1618. Sir SEBASTIAN HARVEY.
Richard Harne.
Hugh Hamersley. |
| 1609. Sir THOMAS CAMBELL.
Sebastian Harvey.
William Cockaine. | 1619. Sir WILLIAM COCKAIN.
Richard Deane.
James Cambell. |

1620.	Sir FRANCIS JONES. Edward Allen. Robert Ducie.	1628.	Sir RICHARD DEANE. Rowland Backhouse. Sir William Acton, Knight and Baronet.
1621.	Sir EDWARD BARKHAM. George Whitmore. Nicolas Rainton.	1629.	Sir JAMES CAMPBELL. Humfrey Smith. Edmund Wright.
1622.	Sir PETER PROBY. John Hodges. Sir Humfrey Hanford.	1630.	Sir ROBERT DUCY. Arthur Abdy. Robert Cambell.
1623.	Sir MARTIN LUMLEY. Ralph Freeman. Thomas Moulson.	1631.	Sir GEORGE WHITMORE. Samuel Cranmer. Henry Prat.
1624.	Sir JOHN GOARE. Rowland Heilin. Robert Parkhurst.	1632.	Sir NICHOLAS RAYNTON. Hugh Perry. Henry Andrews.
1625.	Sir ALLEN COTTON. Thomas Westray. Ellis Crispe. John Poole. Christopher Cletherow.	1633.	Sir RALPH FREEMAN for part, Sir THOMAS MOULSON for the rest. Gil. Harrison. Richard Gurney.*
1626.	Sir CUTHBERT HACKET, or AKET. Edward Bromfield. Richard Fenne.	1634.	Sir ROBERT PARKHURST. John Highlord. John Cordall.
1627.	Sir HUGH HAMMERSLEY. Maurice Abbott. Henry Garway.	1635.	Sir CHRISTOPHER CLEATHEROW. Thomas Soame. John Gayer.

* Here Stow's continuators fail us. There are very curious discrepancies between Strype, Seymour, Maitland and others. Seymour dates all the mayors a year later than Strype. The year here given is that of the election.

1636.	Sir EDWARD BROMFIELD. William Abell. Jacob Gerrard.	1643.	Sir JOHN WOOLLASTON. John Fowke. James Bunce.
1637.	Sir RICHARD FENN. Thomas Atkyn. Edward Rudge.	1644.	Sir THOMAS ATKIN. William Gibbs. Richard Chambers.
1638.	Sir MAURICE ABBOTT. Isaac Pennington. John Woollaston.	1645.	Sir THOMAS ADAMS, Knight and Baronet. John Kendrick. Thomas Foot.
1639.	Sir HENRY GARWAY, Thomas Adams. John Warner.	1646.	Sir JOHN GAYER. Thomas Cullum. Simon Edmonds.
1640.	Sir WILLIAM ACTON, Knight and Baronet, discharged by the House of Commons, and Sir EDMUND WRIGHT, substituted. John Towse. Abraham Reynardson.	1647.	Sir JOHN WARNER. Samuel Avery. John Bide.
1641.	Sir RICHARD GURNEY, Knight and Baronet, discharged by Parliament 12th August, and succeeded by ISAAC PENNINGTON. George Garret. George Clarke.	1648.	Sir ABRAHAM REYNARDSON, imprisoned. THOMAS ANDREWS for rest of the year. Thomas Vyner. Richard Browne.
1642.	Sir ISAAC PENNINGTON. John Langham. Thomas Andrews.	1649.	THOMAS FOOT. Christopher Packe. Rowland Wilson. John Dethick.
		1650.	THOMAS ANDREWS. Robert Titchborne. Richard Chiverton.
		1651.	JOHN KENDRICK. John Ireton. Andrew Rycard.

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| 1652. JOHN FOWKE.
Stephen Eastwick.
William Underwood. | 1661. Sir JOHN FREDERICK.
Francis Menhil.
Samuel Starling. |
| 1653. THOMAS VYNER.
James Philips.
Walter Biggs. | 1662. Sir JOHN ROBINSON,
Knight and Baronet.
Sir Thomas Bludworth.
Sir William Turner. |
| 1654. CHRISTOPHER PACK.
Edmund Sleigh.
Thomas Alleyne. | 1663. Sir ANTHONY BATEMAN.
Sir Richard Ford.
Sir Richard Rives. |
| 1655. JOHN DETHICK.
William Thompson.
John Frederick. | 1664. Sir JOHN LAWRENCE,
George Waterman.
Charles Doe. |
| 1656. ROBERT TITCHBORNE.
Tempest Milner.
Nathanael Temse. | 1665. Sir THOMAS BLUDWORTH.
Sir Robert Hanson.
Sir William Hooker. |
| 1657. RICHARD CHIVERTON.
John Robinson.
Thomas Chandler.
Richard King. | 1666. Sir WILLIAM BOLTON.
Sir Robert Vyner,
Knight and Baronet.
Sir Joseph Sheldon. |
| 1658. Sir JOHN IRETON.
Anthony Bateman.
John Lawrence. | 1667. Sir WILLIAM PEAKE.
Sir Dennis Gauden.
Sir Thomas Davies. |
| 1659. Sir THOMAS ALLEVNE,
Knight and Baronet.
Francis Warner.
William Love. | 1668. WILLIAM TURNER.
John Forth.
Francis Chaplin. |
| 1660. Sir RICHARD BROWN,
Baronet.
William Bolton.
William Peake. | 1669. Sir SAMUEL STARLING.
John Smith.
James Edwards. |

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| <p>1670. SIR RICHARD FORD.
Dannet Forth.
William Gomeldon.
Patience Ward.</p> <p>1671. Sir GEORGE WATERMAN.
Robert Clayton.
Jonathan Dawes.
John Moore</p> <p>1672. Sir ROBERT HANSON.
Sir William Pritchard.
Sir James Smith.</p> <p>1673. Sir WILLIAM HOOKER.
Sir Henry Tulse.
Sir Robert Geffery.</p> <p>1674. Sir ROBERT VYNER,
Knight and Baronet.
Sir Nathaniel Herne.
John Lethieullier.</p> <p>1675. Sir JOSEPH SHELDON.
Thomas Gold.
John Shorter.</p> <p>1676. Sir THOMAS DAVIES.
John Peake.
Thomas Stampe.</p> <p>1677. Sir FRANCIS CHAPLIN.
William Rawstorne.
Thomas Beckford.</p> <p>1678. Sir JAMES EDWARDS.
Richard How.
John Chapman.</p> | <p>1679. Sir ROBERT CLAYTON.
Jonathan Raymond.
Simon Lewis.</p> <p>1680. Sir PATIENCE WARD.
Slingsby Bethell.
Henry Cornish.</p> <p>1681. Sir JOHN MOORE.
Thomas Pilkington.
Samuel Shute.</p> <p>1682. Sir WILLIAM PRITCHARD.
Dudley North.
Peter Rich.</p> <p>1683. Sir HENRY TULSE.
Peter Daniel.
Samuel Dashwood.</p> <p>1684. Sir JAMES SMITH.
William Gosling.
Peter Vandeput.</p> <p>1685. Sir ROBERT GEFFERY.
Benjamin Thorowgood.
Thomas Kensey.</p> <p>1686. Sir JOHN PEAKE.
Thomas Rawlinson.
Thomas Fowles.</p> <p>1687. Sir JOHN SHORTER,
died, Sir JOHN EYLES appointed by
the crown.
Basil Firebrace.
John Parsons.</p> |
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1688.	Sir JOHN CHAPMAN, died 17th March, 1689.	1697.	Sir HUMPHREY EDWIN. Bartholomew Grace- dieu. James Collett.
	Sir THOMAS PILKING- TON. Humphrey Edwin. John Fleet.	1698.	Sir FRANCIS CHILD. Sir William Gore. Sir Joseph Smart.
1689.	Sir THOMAS PILKING- TON. Christopher Lethieul- lier. John Houblon.	1699.	Sir RICHARD LEVET. Charles Duncombe. Jeffery Jefferies.
1690.	Sir THOMAS PILKING- TON. Edward Clarke. Francis Child.	1700.	Sir THOMAS ABNEY. Robert Beachcroft. Henry Furnese.
1691.	Sir THOMAS STAMPE. William Ashurst. Richard Levett.	1701.	Sir WILLIAM GORE. William Withers. Peter Floyer. James Bateman.
1692.	Sir JOHN FLEET. Thomas Lane. Thomas Cooke.	1702.	Sir SAMUEL DASHWOOD. Robert Bedingfield. Samuel Garrard.
1693.	Sir WILLIAM ASHURST. Thomas Abney. William Hedges.	1703.	Sir JOHN PARSONS. Sir Gilbert Heathcote. Sir Joseph Wolfe.
1694.	Sir THOMAS LANE. John Sweetapple. William Cole.	1704.	Sir OWEN BUCKING- HAM. Sir John Buckworth. Knight and Baronet, Sir William Hum- phreys.
1695.	Sir JOHN HOUBLON. Edward Mills. Owen Buckingham.	1705.	Sir THOMAS RAWLIN- SON. Sir Charles Thorold. Sir Samuel Stanier.
1696.	Sir EDWARD CLARKE. John Wolfe. Samuel Blewitt.		

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| <p>1706. Sir ROBERT BEDINGFIELD.</p> <p>Sir William Benson.</p> <p>Sir Ambrose Crawley.</p> | <p>1715. Sir CHARLES PEERS.</p> <p>Sir John Ward.</p> <p>Sir John Fryer, Baronet.</p> |
| <p>1707. Sir WILLIAM WITHERS.</p> <p>Benjamin Green.</p> <p>Sir Charles Peers.</p> | <p>1716. Sir JAMES BATEMAN.</p> <p>Sir Gerard Conyers.</p> <p>Charles Cook.</p> |
| <p>1708. Sir CHARLES DUNCOMBE.</p> <p>Charles Hopton.</p> <p>Richard Guy.</p> | <p>1717. Sir WILLIAM LEWEN.</p> <p>Sir Peter Delmé.</p> <p>Sir Harcourt Masters.</p> |
| <p>1709. Sir SAMUEL GARRARD, Baronet.</p> <p>Sir Richard Hoare.</p> <p>Thomas Dunk.</p> | <p>1718. Sir JOHN WARD.</p> <p>Sir John Bull</p> <p>Sir Thomas Ambrose.</p> |
| <p>1710. Sir GILBERT HEATHCOTE, Baronet.</p> <p>Sir George Thorold,</p> <p>Knight and Baronet.</p> <p>Francis Eyles.</p> | <p>1719. Sir GEORGE THOROLD.</p> <p>Knight and Baronet.</p> <p>Sir John Eyles, Baronet.</p> <p>Sir John Tash.</p> |
| <p>1711. Sir ROBERT BEACHCROFT.</p> <p>John Cass.</p> <p>William Stewart.</p> | <p>1720. Sir JOHN FRYER, Bart.</p> <p>Sir George Caswall.</p> <p>Sir Wm. Billers.</p> |
| <p>1712. Sir RICHARD HOARE.</p> <p>William Lewen.</p> <p>Sir Samuel Clarke.</p> | <p>1721. Sir WILLIAM STEWART.</p> <p>Sir George Merttins.</p> <p>Sir Edward Becher.</p> |
| <p>1713. Sir SAMUEL STAINER.</p> <p>Francis Forbes.</p> <p>Joshua Sharpe.</p> | <p>1722. Sir GERARD CONVERS.</p> <p>Humphry Parsons.</p> <p>Sir Fr. Child.</p> |
| <p>1714. Sir WILLIAM HUMPHREYS, Knight and Baronet.</p> <p>Robert Breedon.</p> <p>Sir Randolph Knipe.</p> | <p>1723. Sir PETER DELMÉ.</p> <p>Sir R. Hopkins.</p> <p>Sir Felix Feast.</p> <p>Sir E. Bellamy.</p> |
| | <p>1724. Sir GEORGE MERTTINS.</p> <p>Robert Baylis.</p> <p>Joseph Eyles.</p> |

1725.	Sir FRANCIS FORBES. Francis Porteen. Jeremiah Murden. John Thompson.	1735.	Sir JOHN WILLIAMS. Sir John Barnard. Sir Robert Godsall.
1726.	Sir JOHN EYLES, Baronet. Sir John Lock. William Ogborn.	1736.	Sir JOHN THOMPSON. Sir Wm. Rous. Benj. Rawlings.
1727.	Sir EDWARD BECHER. Sir John Grosvenor. Sir Thomas Lombe.	1737.	Sir JOHN BARNARD. Sir George Champion. Thos. Russell (died). Sir Robert Kendal Cater.
1728.	Sir ROBERT BAYLIS. Richard Brocas. Richard Levett.	1738.	MICAJAH PERRY. Jas. Brooke. W. Westbrook.
1729.	Sir RICHARD BROCAS. Sir John Williams. John Barber.	1739.	Sir JOHN SALTER. Geo. Heathcote. Sir John Lequesne.
1730.	HUMPHRY PARSONS. John Fuller. Sir Isaac Shard.	1740.	HUMPHRY PARSONS. Died 21st March. DANIEL LAMBERT. Henry Marshall. Richard Hoare.
1731.	Sir FRANCIS CHILD. Samuel Russell. Thomas Pindar.	1741.	Sir ROBERT GOD- SCHALL. Died 26th June, 1742. GEORGE HEATHCOTE. Robert Willmot. William Smith.
1732.	JOHN BARBER. Robert Alsop. Sir Henry Hankey.	1742.	ROBERT WILLMOT. William Benn. Charles Egerton.
1733.	Sir WILLIAM BILLERS. Robert Westley. Daniel Lambert.	1743.	Sir ROBERT WESTLEY. Sir Robert Ladbrooke. Sir Wm. Calvert.
1734.	Sir EDWARD BELLAMY. Micajah Perry. Sir John Salter.		

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| <p>1744. Sir HENRY MARSHALL.
Walter Bernard.
Sir Samuel Pennant.</p> <p>1745. Sir RICHARD HOARE.
John Blachford.
Francis Cokayne.</p> <p>1746. WILLIAM BENN.
Thos. Winterbottom.
Robert Alsop.</p> <p>1747. Sir ROBERT LABROKE.
Sir Crisp Gascoyne.
Edward Davies.</p> <p>1748. Sir WILLIAM CALVERT.
Edward Ironside.
Thomas Rawlinson.</p> <p>1749. Sir SAMUEL PENNANT.
Died 20th May,
1750.
JOHN BLACHFORD.
W. Whitaker.
Stephen Theodore
Janssen.</p> <p>1750. FRANCIS COKAYNE.
William Alexander.
Robert Scott.</p> <p>1751. THOMAS WINTER-
BOTTOM. Died 4th
June, 1752.
ROBERT ALSOP.
Slingsby Bethell.
Marshe Dickinson.</p> <p>1752. Sir CRISP GASCOYNE.
Sir Charles Asgill.
Sir Richard Glyn.</p> | <p>1753. EDWARD IRONSIDE.
Died 27th Nov., 1753.
THOMAS RAWLIN-
SON.
Sir Thomas Chitty.
Sir Matthew Blakiston.</p> <p>1754. STEPHEN THEODORE
JANSSEN.
Sir Samuel Fludyer.
Sir John Torriano.</p> <p>1755. SLINGSBY BETHELL.
William Beckford.
Ive Whitbread.</p> <p>1756. MARSHE DICKINSON.
William Bridgen.
William Stephenson.</p> <p>1757. Sir CHARLES ASGILL,
Baronet.
George Nelson.
Francis Gosling.</p> <p>1758. Sir RICHARD GLYN,
Knight and Baronet.
James Dandridge.
Alexander Masters.</p> <p>1759. Sir THOMAS CHITTY.
George Errington.
Paul Vaillant.</p> <p>1760. Sir MATTHEW BLAKI-
STON.
Sir Robert Kite.
Sir William Hart.</p> <p>1761. Sir SAMUEL FLUDYER.
Knight and Baronet.
Sir Nathaniel Nash.
Sir John Cartwright.</p> |
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1762.	WILLIAM BECKFORD. Sir Thomas Challenor. Sir Henry Bankes.	1770.	BRASS CROSBY. William Baker. Joseph Martin.
1763.	WILLIAM BRIDGEN. Hon. Thomas Harley.* Richard Blunt. Samuel Turner.	1771.	WILLIAM NASH. John Wilkes. Frederick Bull.
1764.	Sir WILLIAM STEPHEN- SON. Sir Thomas Harris. Brass Crosby.	1772.	JAMES TOWNSEND. Richard Oliver. Sir Watkin Lewes.
1765.	GEORGE NELSON. Brackley Kennett. B. Charlewood. Barlow Trecothick.	1773.	FREDERICK BULL. Stephen Sayre. William Lee.
1766.	Sir ROBERT KITE. Sir Robert Darling. Sir James Esdaile.	1774.	JOHN WILKES. William Plomer. John Hart.
1767.	Hon. THOMAS HARLEY. Richard Peers. William Nash.	1775.	JOHN SAWBRIDGE. George Hayley. Nathaniel Newnham.
1768.	SAMUEL TURNER. Thomas Halifax. John Shakespear.	1776.	Sir THOMAS HALIFAX. Samuel Plumbe. Nathaniel Thomas.
1769.	WILLIAM BECKFORD. Died 21st June, 1770. BARLOW TRECOTHICK. James Townsend. John Sawbridge.	1777.	Sir JAMES ESDAILE. Robert Peckham. Richard Clark.
		1778.	SAMUEL PLUMBE. John Burnell. Henry Kitchen.
		1779.	BRACKLEY KENNELL. Thomas Wright. Evan Pugh.

* The only "nobleman" in the list. Son of the 3rd Earl of Oxford. He became a Privy Councillor in 1767.

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| <p>1780. Sir WATKIN LEWES.
Thomas Sainsbury.
William Crichton.</p> <p>1781. Sir WILLIAM PLOMER.
William Gill.
William Nicholson.</p> <p>1782. NATHANIEL NEWNHAM.
Sir Robert Taylor.
Benjamin Cole.</p> <p>1783. ROBERT PECKHAM.
Sir Barnard Turner.
T. Skinner.
W. Pickett.</p> <p>1784. RICHARD CLARK.
John Hopkins.
John Bates.
John Boydell.</p> <p>1785. THOMAS WRIGHT.
Sir James Sanderson.
Brook Watson.</p> <p>1786. THOMAS SAINSBURY.
Paul Le Mesurier.
Charles Higgins.</p> <p>1787. JOHN BURNELL.
James Fenn.
Matthew Bloxam.</p> <p>1788. WILLIAM GILL.
William Curtis.
Sir Benjamin Hammet.</p> <p>1789. WILLIAM PICKETT.
William Newman.
Thomas Baker.</p> | <p>1790. JOHN BOYDELL.
George Mackenzie
Macaulay.
Richard Carr Glyn.</p> <p>1791. JOHN HOPKINS.
John William Anderson.
Harvey Christian Combe.</p> <p>1792. Sir JAMES SANDERSON.
Alexander Brander.
Sir Benjamin Tebbs.</p> <p>1793. PAUL LE MESURIER.
Peter Perchard.
Charles Hamerton.</p> <p>1794. THOMAS SKINNER.
Sir John Eamer.
Sir Robert Burnett.</p> <p>1795. Sir WILLIAM CURTIS,
Baronet.
Sir Richard Glode.
John Liptrap.</p> <p>1796. Sir BROOK WATSON,
Baronet.
Sir Stephen Langston.
Sir William Staines.</p> <p>1797. Sir JOHN WILLIAM ANDERSON, Baronet.
Sir William Herne.
Robert Williams.</p> <p>1798. Sir RICHARD CARR GLYN, Knight and Baronet.
Sir William Champion.
William Mellish.
Charles Price.</p> |
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1799.	HARVEY CHRISTIAN COMBE.	1808.	Sir CHARLES FLOWER, Baronet. Joshua Jonathan Smith. Claudius Stephen Hunter.
	Charles Flower. John Blackhall.		
1800.	Sir WILLIAM STAINES.	1809.	THOMAS SMITH. Matthew Wood. John Atkins.
	John Perring. Thomas Cadell.		
1801.	Sir JOHN EAMER.	1810.	JOSHUA JONATHAN SMITH. Sir William Plomer. Samuel Goodbehere.
	Sir William Rawlins. Robert Albion Cox.		
1802.	Sir CHARLES PRICE, Baronet. Sir Richard Welch, Baronet. Sir John Alexander, Baronet.	1811.	Sir CLAUDIOUS STEPHEN HUNTER, Baronet. Samuel Birch. William Heygate.
1803.	JOHN PERRING. James Shaw. Sir William Leighton.	1812.	GEORGE SCHOLEY. John Blades. Michael Hoy.
1804.	PETER PERCHARD. George Scholey. William Domville.	1813.	Sir WILLIAM DOMVILLE, Baronet. Christopher Magnay. Thomas Coxhead Marsh.
1805.	JAMES SHAW. John Ansley. Thomas Smith.	1814.	SAMUEL BIRCH. Joseph Leigh. John Reay.
1806.	Sir WILLIAM LEIGH-TON. Sir Jonathan Miles. Sir James Branscombe.	1815.	Sir MATTHEW WOOD, Baronet. Sir Thomas Bell. John Thomas Thorpe.
1807.	JAMES ANSLEY. Christopher Smith. Sir Richard Phillips.	1816.	Sir MATTHEW WOOD, Baronet. George Bridges. Robert Kirby.

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| <p>1817. CHRISTOPHER SMITH.
Sir Francis Desanges.
Sir George Alderson.</p> <p>1818. JOHN ATKINS.
John Roberts.
Lawrence Gwynne,
LL.D.</p> <p>1819. GEORGE BRIDGES.
Richard Rothwell.
Joseph Wilfred Par-
kins.</p> <p>1820. JOHN THOMAS THORPE.
Robert Waithman.
James Williams.</p> <p>1821. CHRISTOPHER MAG-
NAY.
John Garratt.
William Venables.</p> <p>1822. WILLIAM HEYGATE.
Matthias Prime Lucas.
William Thompson.</p> <p>1823. ROBERT WAITHMAN.
George Byrom Whit-
taker.
Sir Peter Laurie.</p> <p>1824. JOHN GARRATT.
Anthony Brown.
John Key.</p> <p>1825. WILLIAM VENABLES.
John Crowder.
Thomas Kelly.</p> <p>1826. ANTHONY BROWN.
Charles Farebrother.
Henry Winchester.</p> | <p>1827. MATTHIAS PRIME
LUCAS.
Andrew Spottiswoode.
Charles Stable.
E. A. Wilde.</p> <p>1828. WILLIAM THOMPSON.
Felix Booth.
William Taylor Cope-
land.</p> <p>1829. JOHN CROWDER.
William Henry Rich-
ardson.
Thomas Ward.</p> <p>1830. Sir JOHN KEY,
Baronet.
Chapman Marshall.
William Henry Poland.</p> <p>1831. Sir JOHN KEY, Baronet.
John Cowan.
John Pirie.</p> <p>1832. Sir PETER LAURIE.
John Humphery.
Richard Peek.</p> <p>1833. CHARLES FARE-
BROTHER.
Samuel Wilson.
James Harmer.</p> <p>1834. HENRY WINCHESTER.
Alexander Raphael.
John Illidge.</p> <p>1835. WILLIAM TAYLOR
COPELAND.
John Lainson.
David Salomons.</p> |
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1836.	THOMAS KELLY. James Duke. John Johnson.	1845.	JOHN JOHNSON. William James Chaplin. John Laurie.
1837.	Sir JOHN COWAN, Ba- ronet. George Carroll. Moses Montefiore.	1846.	Sir GEORGE CARROLL. Thomas Challis. Robert William Ken- nard.
1838.	SAMUEL WILSON. Thomas Johnson. Thomas Wood.	1847.	JOHN KINNERSLEY HOOPER. William Cubitt. Charles Hill.
1839.	Sir CHAPMAN MAR- SHALL. William Evans. John Wheelton.	1848.	Sir JAMES DUKE, Knight and Baronet. Thomas Quested Finnis. Jacob Emanuel Good- hart.
1840.	THOMAS JOHNSON. Michael Gibbs. Thomas Farncomb.	1849.	THOMAS FARNCOMB. William Lawrence. Donald Nicoll.
1841.	Sir JOHN PIRIE, Ba- ronet. William Magnay. Alexander Rogers.	1850.	Sir JOHN MUSGROVE, Baronet. Robert Walter Carden. George Edmund Hodg- kinson.
1842.	JOHN HUMPHERY. John Kinnersley Hooper. Jeremiah Pilcher.	1851.	WILLIAM HUNTER. Thomas Cotterell. Richard Swift.
1843.	Sir WILLIAM MAGNAY, Baronet. John Musgrove. Francis Graham Moon.	1852.	THOMAS CHALLIS. John Carter. Alexander Angus Croll.
1844.	MICHAEL GIBBS. William Hunter. Thomas Sidney.		

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| <p>1853. THOMAS SIDNEY.
David Williams Wire.
George Appleton
Wallis.</p> <p>1854. Sir FRANCIS GRAHAM
MOON, Baronet.
Henry Muggeridge.
Charles Decimus
Crosley.</p> <p>1855. DAVID SALOMONS.
Richard Hartley Ken-
nedy.
Wm. Anderson Rose.</p> <p>1856. THOMAS QUESTED
FINNIS.
John Joseph Mech.
Frederick Keats.</p> <p>1857. Sir ROBERT WALTER
CARDEN.
William Lawrence.
William Ferneley Allen.</p> <p>1858. DAVID WILLIAMS
WIRE.
Warren Stormes Hale.
Edward Conder.</p> <p>1859. JOHN CARTER.
Benjamin Samuel
Phillips.
Thomas Gabriel.</p> <p>1860. WILLIAM CUBITT.
James Abbiss.
Andrew Lusk.</p> | <p>1861. WILLIAM CUBITT.
Geo. Joseph Cockerell.
Wm. Holme Twenty-
man.</p> <p>1862. WILLIAM ANDERSON
ROSE.
James Clarke Law-
rence.
Hugh Jones.</p> <p>1863. WILLIAM LAWRENCE.
Hilary Nicholas
Nissen.
Thomas Cave.</p> <p>1864. WARREN STORMES
HALE.
Thomas Dakin.
Robert Besley.</p> <p>1865. Sir BENJAMIN SAMUEL
. PHILLIPS.
Sills John Gibbons.
James Figgins.</p> <p>1866. Sir THOMAS GABRIEL
Bart.
Sir Sydney Hedley
Waterlow.
Sir Francis Lycett.</p> <p>1867. WILLIAM FERNELEY
ALLEN.
David Henry Stone.
William McArthur.</p> <p>1868. J. C. LAWRENCE.
W. J. R. Cotton.
C. W. Cookworthy
Hutton.</p> |
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1869.	ROBERT BESLEY. Joseph Causton. James Valentine.	1876.	Sir THOMAS WHITE. S. C. Hadley. W. Q. East.
1870.	THOMAS DAKIN. T. S. Owden. Robert Jones.	1877.	T. S. OWDEN. G. S. Nottage. J. Staples.
1871.	SILLS JOHN GIBBON. F. W. Truscott. John Bennett.	1878.	Sir C. WHETHAM. G. Burt. T. Bevan.
1872.	Sir SYDNEY HEDLEY WATERLOW. T. White. Fred. Perkins.	1879.	Sir FRANCIS WYATT TRUSCOTT. C. Woolloton. E. K. Bayley.
1873.	ANDREW LUSK, M.P. C. Whetham. J. Johnson.	1880.	WILLIAM McARTHUR, M.P. R. N. Fowler, M.P. H. J. Waterlow.
1874.	DAVID HENRY STONE. J. W. Ellis. J. Shaw.	1881.	Sir J. W. ELLIS, Bart. Sir R. Hanson. Sir W. A. Ogg.
1875.	W. J. R. COTTON, M.P. H. E. Knight. Edgar Breffit.	1882.	HENRY EDMUND KNIGHT. P. De Keyser. J. Savory.

APPENDIX B.

The Members of Parliament for the City of London, 1284-1880.
The following list has been extracted from the Blue Books recently issued. They commence in 1298, but from the 'Chronicles' edited in 1882 by Canon Stubbs for the Rolls Series, we obtain the names for 1284.

1284.	Henry le Waleys. Gregory Rokesley. Philip Cissor. Ralf Crepyn. Jocale le Acatour. John de Gisors.	1 Edw. II.
1298.	Walterus de Fynchyngfeld. Adam de Foleham.	1307. Willielmus de Coumbe Martin. Henricus de Dunolmia.
1299.	Galfridus de Norton, or Northone, aldermannus. Willielmus de Bettonia, aldermannus.	1309. Henricus de Dunolm'. Willielmus Servat.
1304-5.	Willielmus de Coumbemartyn. Walterus de Fynchyngfeld.	1313. Nicholaus de Farndon. Willielmus de Leyre. Willielmus Servat. Stephanus de Abyn-don'.
		1314. Johannes de Gisorcio. Willielmus de Leire. Robertus de Keleseye. Richerus de Refham, vinetarius.
		1314-15. Willielmus de Leire. Henricus de Dunolm'.

1318.	Johannes de Cherleton'. Willielmus de Flete. Rogerus le Palmere.	1 Edw. III.
1320.	Nicholaus de Farendon'. Anketinus de Gisorz. Henricus Monquer. Rogerus Hosebonde.	1327. Benedictus de Folsham. Robertus de Keleseye.
1322	Robertus de Swalclyve. (May). Reginaldus de Conductu. Willielmus de Hac- ford'. Gregorius de Norton'.	1327-8. Ricardus de Betoigne. Robertus de Keleseye. Johannes de Grantham. Johannes Priour, jun.
1322.	Walterus Crepyn. (Nov.) Thomas de Chetyng- don'.	1328. Ricardus de Betoigne. Robertus de Keleseye.
1323-4.	Anketinus de Gysor- cio. Henricus de Secche- ford'.	1328 Stephanus de Abyn- and don'.
1325.	Anketinus de Gisoricio. Henricus de Seche- ford'.	1328-9. Robertus de Keles- eye.
1326-7.	Anketinus de Gysor- cio.* Henricus de Seche- ford.* Reginaldus de Con- ductu.* Thomas de Leire.* Edmundus Cosyn.* Johannes Steere.*	1329-30. Stephanus de Abyn- don'. Johannes de Causton.
		1330. Johannes de Grantham. Reginaldus de Con- ductu. Stephanus de Abyn- don' (or two of them.)
		1331-2. Anketinus de Gisorcio. Johannes de Causton'. Johannes Priour, jun. Thomas de Chetyng- don' (three or two of them).
		1332 Reginaldus de Con- (Sep.). ductu. Johannes de Causton'. Anketinus de Gisorcio.

* “ Electi sunt, ita quod duo ipsorum semper sint parati qui plenam et sufficientem habent potestatem de communitate predicta.”

Thomas de Chetyngdon' (three or two of them).	1338. Radulphus de Upton'. Bartholomeus Deumars.
1332 Thomas de Chetyngdon' (Dec.).	1338-9. Simon Fraunceys. Johannes de Northalle.
Henricus Monquoy.	
1333-4. Reginaldus de Conductu.	1339. Simon (? Fraunceys). Johannes (? de Nort) halle.
Johannes de Causton'. Rogerus de Depham.	
1335. Ricardus de Rothingge. Ricardus de Lacer. Rogerus de Forsham (or two of them).	1340. Willielmus de Briclesworthe. Ricardus de Rothyngge. Ricardus de Berkynge.
1335-6. Henricus de Secheford.	1341. Simon Fraunceys. Willielmus de Briclesworth'.
Thomas de Chetyngdon'.	
Johannes Priour (or two of them).	1344. Johannes de Northalle. Johannes Lovekyn.
1336. Johannes de Causton'. Ricardus de Hakenaye.*	1346. Galfridus de Wychyngham. Thomas Leggy. Johannes Lovekyn. Thomas de Waldene (four, three, or two of them).
1337. Reginaldus de Conductu.	
Benedictus de Fulsham.	
1337-8. Johannes de Grantham.	1347-8. Johannes Lovekyn. Ricardus de Berkyngg'. Willielmus de Iford. Ricardus de Wycombe (three or two of them).
Andreas Aubrey.	
Radulphus de Upton'.	
Ricardus de Rothyngg'.	

* Four wool merchants were also sent from London, returned upon a special writ (dated "apud Villiam de Sancto Johanne," 1st September), viz. Johannes de Oxon', Ricardus de Hakeneye, Henricus Wymond, and Willielmus de Brykelesworth.

1348.	Johannes Lovekyn. Ricardus de Berkynge. Willielmus de Iford'. Ricardus de Wycombe (three or two of them).	1363.	Adam (Fraunceys ?).* Johannes (Lytle ?).* Simon (de Benyng- ton ?). Johannes Tornegol(d).*
1350-1.	Thomas Leggy. Willielmus de Iford.	1364-5.	Adam Fraunceys. Johannes Lovekyn. Simon de Denyngton'. Ricardus de Preston.
1352.	Adam Fraunceys. Johannes Lytle.	1368.	Johannes Wroth. Bartholomeus Frest- lyng'. Johannes Aubrey. Johannes Orgon.
1353.	Thomas Leggy. Thomas Dolsely.	1369.	Johannes Pecche. Johannes Tornegold. Nicholaus de Exton'. Johannes Hadlee.
1357-8.	Thomas Dolsely. Willielmus de Welde. Willielmus de Essex. Ricardus Toky.	1371.	Bartholomeus Frist- lyng'. Johannes Phelipot.
1360.	Bartholomeus Frest- lyng'. Stephanus Cavendyssh. Walterus de Berneye. Ricardus Toky.	1372.	Johannes Wroth. Johannes Pecche. Willielmus Venour. Willielmus Kelshull'.
1360-1.	Adam Fraunceys. Johannes Pecche. Simon de Bevyngton'. Johannes Pyel.	1373.	Adam Stable. Johannes Warde. Johannes Birlyngham. Adam Carlill', spicer.
1362.	Johannes Lytle. Bartholomeus Frest- lyng'. Johannes Tornegold. Johannes Hyltoft.	1376-7.	Johannes Hadle. Johannes Orgoun. Willielmus Tonge. Willielmus Venour.

* Names doubtful, see former returns.

	<i>2 Ric. II.</i>	
1378.	Johannes Hadlee. Galfridus Neuton'. Johannes de Norhampton'. Willielmus Venour.	1385. Johannes Hadle. Nicholaus Exton'. Henricus Herbury. Willielmus Ancroft'.
1381.	Johannes Philipot, chivaler. Johannes Hadle. Willielmus Baret. Hugo Fastolf'.	1386. Johannes Hadle. Johannes Organ. Adam Carlill'. Thomas Girdelere.
1382	Johannes More. (Oct.) Thomas Carleton'. Willielmus Essex'. Ricardus Northbury.	1387-8. Willielmus More. Johannes Shadeworth'. Willielmus Baret'. Johannes Walcote.
1382-3.	Nicholaus Brembre, miles. Johannes More. Ricardus Norbury. Willielmus Essex'.	1388. Adam Bamme. Henricus Vannere. Willielmus Tonge. Johannes Glenhand.
1383.	Willielmus Walworth. Johannes Philipot, miles. Willielmus Barret. Henricus Vanner.	1389-90. Willielmus More. Johannes Shadeworth'. Adam Carlill'. Willielmus Brampton'.
		1391. Willielmus Shiringham. Willielmus Brampton'. Willielmus Staundon'. Johannes Walcote.
1384	Johannes Hadle. (Ap.). Johannes Organ. Johannes Rote. Henricus Herbury.	1394-5. Adam Carlill'. Drugo Barantyn. Galfridus Walderne. Willielmus Askham.
1384	Johannes Hadle. (Nov.). Johannes Orgon. Thomas Rolf'. Henricus Herbury.	1396-7. Willielmus Staundon'. Willielmus Brampton'. Willielmus Hyde. Hugo Short'.

1397,	Andreas Neuport'. and Drugo Barantyn.	1415.	Robertus Chichele. Willielmus Waldern'. Johannes Reynewell'. Willielmus Michell'.
1397-8.	Robertus Asshe- combe. Willielmus Chychely.	1417.	Willielmus Crowemere. Willielmus Sevenok'. Johannes Welles, grocer. Johannes Boteler, jun., mercer.
	<i>i Henry IV.</i>		
1399.	Johannes Shadworth'. Willielmus Brampton'. Ricardus Merlowe. Willielmus Sonnyng- well'.	1419.	Nicholaus Wotton'. Henricus Barton'. Ricardus Merivale. Simon Sewale.
1402.	• • • *	1420.	Thomas Fauconer. Johannes Michell'. Salamon Oxeneye, aurifaber. Johannes Higham, pannarius.
1405-6.	Willielmus Staundon'. Nicholaus Wotton'. Johannes Sudbury. Hugo Ryebrede.	1421.	Willielmus Waldern'. (May). Willielmus Crowmere. Willielmus Burton. Ricardus Goslyn'.
1407.	Willielmus Askham. Willielmus Crowemer. Willielmus Marche- ford'. Johannes Bryan'.	1421	Thomas Fauconer. (Dec.). Nicholaus Wotton'. Johannes Whateley. Johannes Brokley.
	<i>i Henry V.</i>		<i>i Henry VI.</i>
1413.	Drugos Barantyn'. Willielmus Askham. Willielmus Marche- ford'. Walterus Gawtron.	1422.	Thomas Fauconer. Johannes Michell'. Henricus Frowyk'. Thomas Mayneld'.
1414.	Willielmus Waldern'. Nicholaus Wotton. Willielmus Olyver. Johannes Gedney.		

* Names torn off.

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| <p>1425. Nicholaus Wotton'.
 Johannes Welles.
 Eborardus Flete.
 Thomas Bernewell'.</p> <p>1425-6. Johannes Michell'.
 Johannes Wellys.
 Eborardus Flete.
 Johannes Higham.</p> <p>1427. Johannes Michell'.
 Johannes Wellys.
 Willielmus Milreth'.
 Walterus Gawtron'.</p> <p>1429. Nicholaus Wotton'.
 Nicholaus James.
 Willielmus Milreth'.
 Walterus Gautron'.</p> <p>1430. Willielmus Estfeld'.
 Nicholaus James.
 Johannes Hiham.
 Johannes Abbot.</p> <p>1432. Johannes Gedney.
 Willielmus Milreth.
 Johannes Levyng'.
 Phillipus Malpas.</p> <p>1433. Johannes Reynewell'.
 Johannes Welles.
 Johannes Hatherle.
 Thomas Catworth'.</p> <p>1435. Johannes Michell'.
 Robertus Large.
 Johannes Bederenden'.
 Stephanus Forster.</p> | <p>1436-7. Henricus Frowyk.
 Thomas Catworth'.
 Johannes Carpenter,
 junior.
 Nicholaus Yeo.</p> <p>1439. Willielmus Estfeld',
 miles.
 Johannes Bowys.
 Philippus Malpas.
 Willielmus Cottes-
 broke.</p> <p>1446-7. Henricus Frowyk'.
 Willielmus Combys.
 Hugo Wyche.
 Willielmus Marowe.</p> <p>1448-9. Thomas Catworth'.
 Johannes Norman.
 Galfridus Boleyn'.
 Thomas Billyng'.</p> <p>1449. Stephanus Broun'.
 Johannes Norman'.
 Johannes Nedham.
 Johannes Harwe.</p> <p>1450. Henricus Frowyk'.
 Willielmus Marowe.
 Johannes Harwe.
 Ricardus Lee.</p> <p>1452-3. Stephanus Broun'.
 Willielmus Cantelowie.
 Johannes . . *
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* Return torn.

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| <p>1455. Galfridus Feldyng'.
 Willielmus Cantlowe.
 Johannes Harrowe.
 Johannes Yonge.</p> <p><i>7 Edward IV.</i></p> <p>1467. Radulphus Josselyn,
 miles, civis et alder-
 mannus.
 Thomas Ursewyk, re-
 cordator.
 Johannes Warde,
 mercer.
 Johannes Crosseby,
 grocer.</p> <p>1472. Radulphus Verney,
 miles et alderman-
 nus.
 Georgius Irlonde, miles
 et aldermannus.
 Johannes Brampton.
 Stephanus Fabyan.</p> <p>1477-8. Willielmus Hampton,
 miles et alderman-
 nus.
 Ricardus Gardyner,
 aldermannus.
 Willielmus Brasebrigge.
 Johannes Warde.</p> <p><i>14 Henry VIII.</i></p> <p>1529. Thomas Semer, miles.
 Johannes Baker.
 Johannes Petyt.
 Paulus Wythypoll.</p> | <p>1541-2. Willielmus Roche,
 miles et alderman-
 nus.
 Rogerus Cholmley,
 miles, recordator.
 Johannes Sturgeon,
 haberdassher.
 Nicholaus Wylford,
 mercator scissor.</p> <p><i>1 Edward VI.</i></p> <p>1547. Martinus Bowes, miles
 et aldermannus.
 Robertus Broke, ar-
 miger, recordator.
 Thomas Curteys, pew-
 terer.
 Thomas Bacon, salter.</p> <p>1552-3. Martinus Bowes,
 miles.
 Robertus Broke, ser-
 viens ad legem,
 recordator civitatis
 London'.</p> <p>Johannes Marsshe,
 mercer.
 Johannes Blundell,
 mercer.</p> <p><i>1 Mary.</i></p> <p>1554. *Martinus Bowes, miles.
 *Robertus Brook, re-
 cordator.
 *Johannes Mershe,
 armiger.
 *Johannes Blundell.</p> |
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* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List in the absence of Original Returns.

	1 & 2 <i>Philip and Mary.</i>	Johannes Mershe, mercer, London'.
1554	Martinus Bowes, miles, (Nov.). aldermannus civitatis London'.	Ricardus Grafton, grocerus, London'.
	Ranulphus Cholmeley, armiger, recordator civitatis London'.	
	Ricardus Grafton, grocerus.	
	Ricardus Burnell, generosus.	
1555.	Martinus Bowes, miles, aldermannus civitatis London'.	
	Ranulphus Cholmeley, armiger, recordator civitatis London'.	
	Philippus Bold, clothe-worker.	
	Nicholaus Chune, haberdassher.	
1557-8.	Willielmus Garrard, miles, aldermannus civitatis London'.	
	Ranulphus Cholmeley, armiger, recordator civitatis London'.	
		5 <i>Elizabeth.</i>
		1562-3. *Sir William Chester, knt.
		*Ralph Cholmeley, serjeant-at-law, recorder of London.†
		*Laurence Withers, salter.
		*John Marshe, mercer.
		1572. †Sir Roland Heyward, knt.
		†William Fletewood, esq., recorder.
		†John Marsh, mercer.
		Thomas Norton, grocer.
		1586. §Sir Edward Osborne, knt., alderman.
		§William Fletewood, serjeant-at-law, and recorder of London.

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are five for this Parliament) in the absence of Original Returns.

† In the fourth and fifth Lists the name of Richard Ousley, Recorder of London, is substituted for that of Ralph Cholmeley, probably on account of his death, 25th April, 1563.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are three), in the absence of Original Returns.

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

	*Thomas Aldersey, haberdasher.	John Croke, esq., re- corder of London.
*Richard Saltinstall, skinner.	Thomas Fettiplace, ironmonger.	John Pynder, vintner.
1588, { Sir George Barne, and } knt., alderman of 1588-9, } London.	William Fletewood, serjeant-at-law, and recorder of London.	1 James I.
Thomas Aldersey, haberdasher.	Sir Thomas Lowe, knt., vice Sir Henry Billingsley, knt., de- ceased.	1603-4. Sir Henry Billingsley, knt.†
Andrew Palmer, gold- smith.	1620-1. Sir Thomas Lowe, knt.	Robert Heath, esq., recorder of London.
1592-3. Sir John Harte, knt., alderman of London.	Robert Bateman, skinner.	Robert Bateman, skinner.
Edward Drewe, Esq., serjeant-at-law, and recorder of London.	William Towerson, skinner.	Willam Towerson, skinner.
Andrew Palmer, gold- smith.	1623-4. Sir Thomas Middle- ton, knt., Alderman of London.	Sir Heneage Finch, knt., serjeant-at- law, recorder of London.
George Sotherton, mer- chant taylor.	Sir Robert Bateman, skinner.	Robert Bateman, skinner.
1597. Sir John Harte, knt. John Croke, esq., re- corder of London.	Martin Bond, haber- dasher.	Martin Bond, haber- dasher.
George Sotherton, merchant taylor.		
Thomas Fettiplace, . ironmonger.		
1601. Sir Stephen Soame, knt.		

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

[†] No Return found; but see the Writ for the following single election.

1 *Charles I.*

1625. *Sir Thomas Middleton, knt.
 *Sir Heneage Finch, knt., recorder.
 *Robert Bateman, skinner.
 *Martin Bonde, haberdasher.
 1625-6. *Sir Thomas Middleton, knt.
 *Sir Heneage Fynch, knt., recorder.
 *Sir Maurice Abbott, knt.
 *Robert Bateman, esq.
 1627-8. Thomas Moulson, alderman.
 Christopher Clitheroe, alderman.
 Henry Waller, cloth-worker.
 James Bunce, leather-seller.

- 1640 Thomas Soame, esq., (Apr.) alderman.
 Isaac Pennington, esq., alderman.
 Matthew Cradock, skinner.
 Samuel Vassell, clothier.

- 1640 LONG PARLIAMENT.
 (Nov.). Thomas Soame, alderman.
 Isaac Pennington, alderman.
 Matthew Cradock, skinner.
 Samuel Vassell, cloth-worker.
 John Venn, merchant taylor, vice Matthew Cradock, deceased.
Cromwell.
 1654. Thomas Foote, alderman.
 William Steele, serjeant-at-law, recorder of London.
 Thomas Adams, esq.
 John Langham, esq.
 esq.†
 Andrew Riccard, esq.

13 *Charles II.*

1661. John Fowke, esq., alderman.
 Sir William Thompson, knt., alderman.
 William Love, esq., alderman.
 John Jones, esq.
 1678-9, Sir Robert Clayton, knt., alderman.

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

† Return torn.

Sir Thomas Player, knt.	Thomas Pilkington, esq.
William Love, esq.	Sir William Ashurst, knt., alderman, <i>vice</i> William Love, esq., deceased.
Thomas Pilkington, skinner.	
1679. Sir Robert Clayton, knt., alderman.	
Sir Thomas Player, knt.	2 <i>William and Mary.</i>
William Love, esq.	1689-90. Sir William Pritchard, knt., alderman.
Thomas Pilkington, esq.	Sir Samuel Dashwood, knt., alderman.
1680-1. Sir Robert Clayton, knt., alderman.	Sir William Turner, knt.
Thomas Pilkington, esq., alderman.	Sir Thomas Vernon, knt.
Sir Thomas Player, knt.	Sir John Fleet, knt., lord mayor of London, <i>vice</i> Sir William Turner, knt., de- ceased.
William Love, esq,	
<i>1 James II.</i>	
1685. Sir John Moore, knt., alderman.	7 <i>William III.</i>
Sir William Pritchard, knt., alderman.	1695. Sir Robert Clayton, knt., alderman.
Sir Samuel Dashwood, knt., alderman.	Sir John Fleet, knt., alderman.
Sir Peter Rich, knt., alderman.	Sir William Ashurst, knt., alderman.
CONVENTION, 1688-9.	Thomas Papillon, esq.
1688-9. Sir Patience Ward, knt., alderman.	1698. Sir John Fleet, knt., alderman.
Sir Robert Clayton, knt.	Sir William Ashurst, knt., alderman.
William Love, esq.	Sir James Houblon, knt., alderman.
	Thomas Papillon, esq.

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| <p>1700-1. Sir Robert Clayton,
knt., alderman.
Sir William Ashurst,
knt., alderman.
Sir William Withers,
knt., alderman.
Gilbert Heathcote, esq.
Sir John Fleet, knt.,
alderman, <i>vice</i> Gil-
bert Heathcote, esq.,
expelled the House.</p> <p>1701. Sir Robert Clayton,
knt.
Sir William Ashurst,
knt.
Sir Thomas Abney,
knt.
Gilbert Heathcote, esq.</p> <p><i>I Anne.</i></p> <p>1702. Sir William Prichard,
knt., alderman.
Sir John Fleet, knt.,
alderman.
Sir Francis Child, knt.,
alderman.
Gilbert Heathcote,
esq., alderman.</p> <p>1705. FIRST PARLIAMENT OF
GREAT BRITAIN.
Sir John Clayton, knt.
Sir William Ashurst,
knt.
Sir Gilbert Heathcote,
knt.
Samuel Shepheard, esq.</p> | <p>Sir William Withers,
knt., lord mayor of
the city of London,
<i>vice</i> Sir Robert Clay-
ton, knt., deceased.</p> <p>1708. Sir William Withers,
knt., mayor of the
City of London.
Sir William Ashurst,
knt.
Sir Gilbert Heathcote,
knt.
John Ward, esq.</p> <p>1710. Sir William Withers,
knt., alderman.
Sir Richard Hoare,
alderman.
Sir George Newland,
knt.
John Cass, esq.</p> <p>1713. Sir William Withers,
knt., alderman.
Sir Richard Hoare,
knt., alderman.
Sir John Cass, knt.,
alderman.
Sir George Newland,
knt.</p> <p><i>I George I.</i></p> <p>1714-15. Sir John Ward,
knt., alderman.
Sir Thomas Scawen,
knt., alderman.
Robert Heysham, esq.
Peter Godfrey, esq.</p> |
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1722. Francis Child, esq., alderman. Richard Lockwood, esq. Peter Godfrey, esq. John Barnard, esq. Sir Richard Hopkins, knt., and alderman, <i>vice</i> Peter Godfrey, esq., deceased.	1747. Sir John Barnard, knt. Sir William Calvert, knt.
1727. Sir John Eyles, bart. alderman. Humphry Parsons, esq., alderman. John Barnard, esq. Micajah Perry, esq.	1754. Sir John Barnard, knt. Sir Robert Ladbroke, knt. Slingsby Bethell, esq. William Beckford, esq. Sir Richard Glyn, knt., lord mayor of London, <i>vice</i> Slingsby Bethell, esq., deceased.
1734. Humphry Parsons, esq., alderman. Sir John Barnard, knt., alderman. Micajah Perry, esq., alderman. Robert Willimot, esq.	1761. Sir George III. Sir Robert Ladbroke, knt. Sir Richard Glyn, knt. and bart. William Beckford, esq. Thomas Harley, esq.
1741. Daniel Lambert, esq., lord mayor. Sir John Barnard, knt., alderman. Sir Robert Godsall, knt., alderman. George Heathcote, esq., alderman. William Calvert, esq., alderman, <i>vice</i> Sir Robert Godsall, knt., deceased.	1768. Thomas Harley, esq., lord mayor of London. Sir Robert Ladbroke knt. William Beckford, esq. Barlow Trecottick, esq. Richard Oliver, esq., <i>vice</i> William Beckford, esq., deceased.

	Frederick Bull, <i>vice</i> Sir Robert Ladbroke, knt., deceased.	1790.	William Curtis, esq. Brook Watson, esq. Sir Watkin Lewes, knt. John Sawbridge, esq. John William Anderson, esq., <i>vice</i> Brook Watson, esq., who accepted the Stewardship of the Manor of East Hendred, county Berks.
1774.	John Sawbridge. Richard Oliver. Frederick Bull. George Hayley.		William Lushington, esq., <i>vice</i> John Sawbridge, esq., deceased.
1780.	George Hayley, esq., alderman, armourer, and brazier. John Kirkman, esq., alderman and fishmonger. Frederick Bull, esq., alderman and salter. Nathaniel Newnham, esq., alderman and mercer.		
	John Sawbridge, Esq., citizen and framework knitter, <i>vice</i> John Kirkman, esq., deceased.	1796.	FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND [1801].
	Sir Watkin Lewis, knt., citizen and joiner, <i>vice</i> George Hayley, esq., deceased.	1801.	William Lushington, esq., citizen, alderman, and merchant taylor, of London.
	Brook Watson, esq., <i>vice</i> Frederick Bull, esq., deceased.		William Curtis, lord mayor, citizen and draper, of London.
1784.	Brook Watson, esq. Sir Watkin Lewes, knt. Nathaniel Newnham, esq. John Sawbridge, esq.		Harvey Christian Combe, esq., citizen, alderman, and fishmonger, of London.
			John William Anderson, esq., citizen, alderman, and glover, of London.

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| 1802. Harvey Christian Combe, esq., alderman and fishmonger, of London.
Charles Price, esq., alderman and ironmonger, of London.
William Curtis, esq., alderman and draper, of London.
Sir John William Anderson, bart., alderman and glover, of London. | alderman, and fishmonger.
1812. Harvey Christian Combe, esq., citizen, alderman, and fishmonger.
Sir William Curtis, bart., citizen, alderman, and draper.
Sir James Shaw, bart., citizen, alderman, and scrivener.
John Atkins, esq., citizen, alderman, and merchant taylor.
Matthew Wood, esq., lord mayor, citizen, and fishmonger, <i>vice</i> Harvey Christian Combe, esq., who accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks. |
| 1806. Harvey Christian Combe, esq., alderman and fishmonger.
James Shaw, esq., lord mayor and scrivener.
Sir Charles Price, bart., alderman and ironmonger.
Sir William Curtis, bart., alderman and draper. | 1818. Matthew Wood, esq., citizen, alderman, and fishmonger.
Thomas Wilson, esq., citizen and spectacle maker.
Robert Waithman, esq., citizen and framework knitter.
John Thomas Thorp, esq., citizen, alderman, and draper. |
| 1807. Sir Charles Price, bart., citizen, alderman, and ironmonger.
Sir William Curtis, bart., citizen, alderman, and draper.
James Shaw, esq., citizen, alderman, and scrivener.
Harvey Christian Combe, esq., citizen, | |

1 *George IV.*

1820. Matthew Wood, esq., citizen, alderman, and fishmonger.

Thomas Wilson, esq., citizen and spectacle maker.

Sir William Curtis, bart., citizen, alderman and draper.

George Bridges, lord mayor, citizen, alderman, and wheelwright.

1826. William Thompson, esq., citizen, alderman, and ironmonger.

Robert Waithman, esq., citizen, alderman, and framework knitter.

William Ward, esq., citizen and musician.

Matthew Wood, esq., citizen, alderman, and fishmonger.

1 *William IV.*

1830. William Thompson, esq., alderman, citizen, and ironmonger.

Robert Waithman, esq., alderman and framework knitter.

William Ward, esq., citizen and musician.

Matthew Wood, esq., alderman, citizen, and fishmonger.

1831. Robert Waithman, esq., alderman and framework knitter.

William Thompson, esq., alderman and ironmonger.

Matthew Wood, esq., alderman and fishmonger.

William Venables, esq., alderman and stationer.

1833. George Grote, esq.

Matthew Wood, esq., Robert Waithman, esq. Sir John Key, bart.

George Lyall, citizen and broderer, *vice* Robert Waithman, esq., deceased.

William Crawford, citizen and spectacle maker, *vice* Sir John Key, bart., who accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks.

1835. Matthew Wood, esq., citizen and fishmonger.

James Pattison, esq., citizen and spectacle maker.

William Crawford, esq., citizen and spectacle maker.

George Grote, esq., citizen and needle maker.

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1837. Matthew Wood, esq., citizen and fishmonger.

William Crawford, esq., citizen and spectacle maker.

James Pattison, esq., citizen and spectacle maker.

George Grote, esq., citizen and needle maker.

1841. John Masterman, esq., citizen.

Sir Matthew Wood, bart., alderman and citizen.

George Lyall, esq., citizen.

John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, citizen.

James Pattison, esq., citizen of London,

of 37, Upper Harley Street, *vice* Sir Matthew Wood, bart., deceased.

John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, re-elected after appointment as First Lord of the Treasury.

1847. John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell.

James Pattison, esq.
Lionel Nathan Rothschild, commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.

John Masterman, esq.
Sir James Duke, knt., lord mayor of the city of London, *vice* James Pattison, esq., deceased.

Lionel Nathan Rothschild, commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, re-elected after accepting the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks.

1852. John Masterman, esq.
John Russell, com-

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| <p>monly called Lord John Russell.</p> <p>Sir James Duke, bart.</p> <p>Lionel Nathan Rothschild, commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.</p> <p>John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State.</p> <p>John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, re-elected after appointment as President of the Council.</p> <p>John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State.</p> <p>1857. Sir James Duke, bart.</p> <p>Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.</p> <p>John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell.</p> | <p>Robert Wigram Crawford, esq.</p> <p>Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, re-elected after accepting the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks.</p> <p>1859. John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell.</p> <p>Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, esq., commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.</p> <p>Sir James Duke, bart.</p> <p>Robert Wigram Crawford, esq.</p> <p>John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State.</p> <p>Western Wood, esq., citizen and fishmonger, of London, <i>vice</i> John Russell, commonly called Lord John Russell, who accepted the</p> |
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	Stewardship of the Manor of Northstead, county York.	George Joachim Gos- chen, esq., re-elected after appointment as Poor Law Commis- sioner.
	George Joachim Gos- chen, esq., citizen and spectacle maker. <i>vice</i> Western Wood, esq., deceased.	Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, esq., commonly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, <i>vice</i> Charles Bell, esq., deceased.
1865.	George Joachim Gos- chen, esq. Robert Wigram Craw- ford, esq.	
	William Lawrence, esq. Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, com- monly called Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild.	1874. William James Rich- mond Cotton, esq Philip Twells, esq. John Gellibrand Hub- bard, esq.
	George Joachim Gos- chen, esq., re-elected after appointment as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.	George Joachim Gos- chen, esq., First Lord of the Admi- ralty.
1868.	George Joachim Gos- chen, esq. Robert Wigram Craw- ford, esq. William Lawrence, esq. Charles Bell, esq.	1880. W. J. R. Cotton, alderman. R. N. Fowler, alder- man. Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard. William Lawrence, alderman.

APPENDIX C.

Parishes in London.

All Hallows Barking.	St. Bartholomew the Less.
All Hallows Bread Street.	St. Benet Fink.
All Hallows the Great.	St. Benet Gracechurch.
All Hallows the Less.	St. Benet Paul's Wharf.
All Hallows Honey Lane.	St. Benet Shorehog.
All Hallows Lombard Street.	St. Botolph Billingsgate.
All Hallows on the Wall.	St. Botolph Aldersgate.
All Hallows Staining.	St. Botolph Aldgate.
Bridewell Precinct.	St. Botolph Bishopsgate.
Christ Church Newgate Street.	St. Bridget (or St. Bride).
Holy Trinity, Gough Square.	St. Christopher le Stocks.
Holy Trinity, Minories (without the City).	St. Clement Eastcheap.
Holy Trinity the Less.	St. Dionis Backchurch.
St. Alban.	St. Dunstan in the East.
St. Alphage.	St. Dunstan in the West.
St. Andrew Holborn.	St. Edmund the King and Martyr.
St. Andrew Hubbard.	St. Ethelburga.
St. Andrew Undershaft.	St. Faith under St. Paul's.
St. Andrew by the Wardrobe.	St. Gabriel Fenchurch.
St. Anne and St. Agnes.	St. George Botolph Lane.
St. Anne, Blackfriars.	St. Giles Cripplegate.
St. Antholin.	St. Gregory by St. Paul's.
St. Augustine.	St. Helen Bishopsgate.
St. Bartholomew, by the Ex- change.	St. James Garlickhithe.
St. Bartholomew Moor Lane.	St. James, Mitre Square or Duke's Place.
St. Bartholomew the Great.	St. John the Baptist.

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| St. John the Evangelist. | St. Mary Woolchurch. |
| St. John Zachary. | St. Mary Woolnoth. |
| St. Katherine Coleman. | St. Matthew Friday Street. |
| St. Katherine Cree. | St. Michael Bassishaw. |
| St. Lawrence Jewry. | St. Michael Cornhill. |
| St. Laurence Pountney. | St. Michael Crooked Lane. |
| St. Leonard Eastcheap. | St. Michael le Querne. |
| St. Leonard Foster Lane. | St. Michael Paternoster Royal. |
| St. Magnus the Martyr. | St. Michael Queenhithe. |
| St. Margaret Lothbury. | St. Michael Wood Street. |
| St. Margaret Moses. | St. Mildred Bread Street. |
| St. Margaret New Fish Street. | St. Mildred the Virgin. |
| St. Margaret Pattens. | St. Nicholas Acons. |
| St. Martin Ludgate. | St. Nicholas Cole Abbey. |
| St. Martin Orgars. | St. Nicholas Olave. |
| St. Martin Outwich. | St. Olave Hart Street. |
| St. Martin Pomery. | St. Olave Old Jewry. |
| St. Martin Vintry. | St. Olave Silver Street. |
| St. Mary Abchurch. | St. Pancras Soper Lane. |
| St. Mary Aldermary. | St. Peter Cornhill. |
| St. Mary-at-Hill. | St. Peter le Poer. |
| St. Mary Bothaw. | St. Peter Paul's Wharf. |
| St. Mary Colechurch. | St. Peter in the Tower. |
| St. Mary-le-Bow. | St. Peter Westcheap. |
| St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street. | St. Sepulchre. |
| St. Mary Magdalene Old Fish
Street. | St. Stephen Coleman Street. |
| St. Mary Mounthaw. | St. Stephen Wallbrook. |
| St. Mary Somerset. | St. Swithin London Stone. |
| St. Mary Staining. | St. Thomas the Apostle. |
| St. Mary Aldermanbury. | St. Vedast Foster Lane.
Whitefriars Precinct. |

APPENDIX D.

Wren's Churches and other Public Buildings in the City.

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| 1. St. Alban, Wood Street. | 21. St. George, Botolph Lane. |
| 2. All Hallows, Bread Street
(destroyed). | 22. St. James, Garlickhithe. |
| 3. All Hallows, Lombard
Street. | 23. St. Lawrence Jewry. |
| 4. All Hallows, Upper Thames
Street. | 24. St. Magnus. |
| 5. St. Andrew by the Ward-
robe. | 25. St. Margaret Lothbury. |
| 6. St. Andrew Holborn. | 26. St. Margaret Pattens. |
| 7. St. Anne and St. Agnes. | 27. St. Martin Ludgate. |
| 8. St. Antholin (destroyed). | 28. St. Mary Abchurch. |
| 9. St. Augustine. | 29. St. Mary Aldermanbury. |
| 10. St. Bartholomew by the
Bank (destroyed). | 30. St. Mary Aldermury. |
| 11. St. Benet, Gracechurch
Street (destroyed). | 31. St. Mary At Hill. |
| 12. St. Benet Fink (destroyed). | 32. St. Mary Le Bow. |
| 13. St. Benet, Paul's Warf. | 33. St. Mary Somerset (de-
stroyed). |
| 14. St. Bride. | 34. St. Mary Magdalen. |
| 15. Christ Church. | 35. St. Matthew Friday Street
(destroyed). |
| 16. St. Christopher le Stocks
(destroyed). | 36. St. Michael Bassishaw. |
| 17. St. Clement, East Cheap. | 37. St. Michael Wood Street. |
| 18. St. Dionys Backchurch
(destroyed). | 38. St. Michael Cornhill. |
| 19. St. Dunstan in the East. | 39. St. Michael Crooked Lane
(destroyed). |
| 20. St. Edmund the King. | 40. St. Michael Queenhithe
(destroyed). |
| | 41. St. Michael Royal. |
| | 42. St. Mildred Bread Street. |
| | 43. St. Mildred Poultry (de-
stroyed). |

44. St. Nicholas Cole Abbey.
45. St. Olave Jewry.
46. St. Paul.
47. St. Peter.
48. St. Stephen Coleman Street.
49. St. Stephen Wallbrook.
50. St. Swithin.
51. St. Vincent.

In addition Sir C. Wren repaired St. Mary Woolnoth, but on its becoming ruinous in 1710, Hawksmoor built the present church, finished in 1727. Wren's chief works in London besides the churches were :—

1. The Custom House (destroyed).

2. The Deanery.
3. Chapter House.
4. Middle Temple front in Fleet Street.
5. Temple Bar (destroyed).
6. The Monument.
7. Royal Exchange (burnt 1837).
8. College of Physicians (destroyed).
9. Sion College (about to be destroyed).
10. Mercers' Hall.
11. Fishmongers' (destroyed),

and many other Companies' halls, of which but few survive unaltered.

APPENDIX E.

*The Prebendal Manors of St. Paul's.*

BROOMSBURY, or BRONDESURY, the 14th stall on the left side.

A division of Willesden. Called after David Brand, prebendary at the time of the division.

BROWNSWOOD, the 16th stall on the right side.

Part of Willesden. Called after Roger Brun, prebendary in 1142. See under Willesden, etc. But this manor has been identified by some authorities with a small holding in Hornsey.

CADDINGTON MAJOR, the 17th stall on the left side.

The manor of Aston Bury, in Bedfordshire. Given to the church, with Caddington Minor and Sandon, in Herts, by King Athelstan, between 926 and 941.

CADDINGTON MINOR, the 5th stall on the left side.

The manor of Caddington, or Provenders, in Bedfordshire. See Caddington Major, or Aston Bury.

CANTLERS, the 10th stall on the right side.

Also written as Kentish Town, in the parish of St. Pancras. Probably named after Roger Cantelupe, or Cantlow, prebendary in 1249.

CHAMBERLAINEWOOD, the 6th stall on the right side.

A small holding taken out of Willesden, and called after Richard de Camera, prebendary in 1215, and rector of Willesden.

CHISWICK, the 18th stall on the left side.

The parish of Chiswick, Middlesex, but granted away to Westminster Abbey by Dean Goodman in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

CONSUMPTA PER MARE, the 13th stall on the left side.

This oddly named stall was connected with a holding in Walton le Soken, in Essex, and is sometimes called "Consumpta in Waltone." The addition of "le Soken" to the names of Kirby and Walton may be on account of the holdings of the prebendaries of St. Paul's.

EALDLAND, the 10th stall on the left side.

Like Wedland, this is a manor in the parish of Tillingham, near Maldon in Essex.

EALDSTREET, the 18th stall on the right side.

A part of St. Leonard's Shoreditch, now marked by Old Street.

FINSBURY, or HOLYWELL, the 4th stall on the right side.

Also written Vynesbury, and Halliwell: partly in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and partly in St. Leonard, Shoreditch. Robert Baldock, prebendary in 1315, leased the manor to the Mayor and Commons. The lease dropped in 1867, and the manor now belongs to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

HARLESTON, the 7th stall on the right side.

A portion of the parish of Willesden; see Mapesbury, etc. I have found no clue to the meaning of the name.

HOLBORN, the 6th stall on the right side.

In the parish of St. Andrew. The name is derived from the river, the Holeburne, or upper course of the Fleet.

HOXTON, the 9th stall on the left side.

A manor in the original parish of Shoreditch. It possibly derives its name from Hugh or "Hugo, the Archdeacon," who was succeeded in the stall by his son, Henry, early in the XIth century. Newcourt endeavours to identify Hugh with archdeacons of Essex and of Colchester a hundred years later. This is an interesting example of hereditary succession. Hugh's predecessor, Gaufridus, had succeeded his father Osbern.

ISLINGTON, the 11th stall on the left side of the choir.

Comprised part of the original parish of the same name, north of London. Algar, son of "Deorman of London," was prebendary in the eleventh century.

MAPESBURY, the 12th stall on the right side.

Divided from Willesden in 1150 : and called after the celebrated Archdeacon, Walter Map, or Mapes, "who was present at the making of the constitution *de Pane et Servicio* (*sic*), when Ralph de Langford was Dean." Newcourt i. 173.

MORA, or the MOOR, the 9th stall on the right side.

In the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. Often confounded with Finsbury.

NEASDEN, the 15th stall on the left side of the choir.

A small estate in the parish of Willesden, divided from the original manor about 1150. Sometimes written Heston, or Measdene.

NEWINGTON, the 16th stall on the left side.

The parish of Stoke Newington, in Middlesex.

OXGATE, the 13th stall on the right side.

A division of Willesden. See above, Mapesbury, etc. It was held by Nicholas "Crocemannus" in the beginning of the twelfth century and by his son, another Nicholas, in 1150 at the time of the constitution "de pane et cervisio."

PANCRAS, or ST. PANCRAS, the 6th stall on the left side.

Part of the parish of St. Pancras.

PORTPOOL, the 8th stall on the right side.

In the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn. It is now known as Gray's Inn.

RECOLVERLAND, the 7th stall on the left side.

Like Wedland and Ealdland, a manor in the parish of Tillingham in Essex. St. Thomas of Canterbury sat in this stall. The holding is called after his successor Hugh de Reculver, probably a Kentish man.

RUGMERE, the 17th stall on the right side.

The modern parishes of St. Giles, and St. George, Bloomsbury. probably called from a mere or pond, on the ridge of the hill, drained by Bleomund's Dyke.

SNEATING, the 14th stall on the right side.

In the parish of Kirkby or Kirby le Soken, near Colchester in Essex.

TOTTENHALL, or TOTTENHAM, the 4th stall on the left side.

In the parish of St. Pancras. It was held by the deans for a time.

TWYFORD, the 11th stall on the right side.

Part of the divided parish of Willesden, now East Twyford. The "ford" was over the river Brent.

WEDLAND, or WILDLAND, or WILDERLAND, the 8th stall on the left side.

A manor in the parish of Tillingham, near Maldon in Essex.

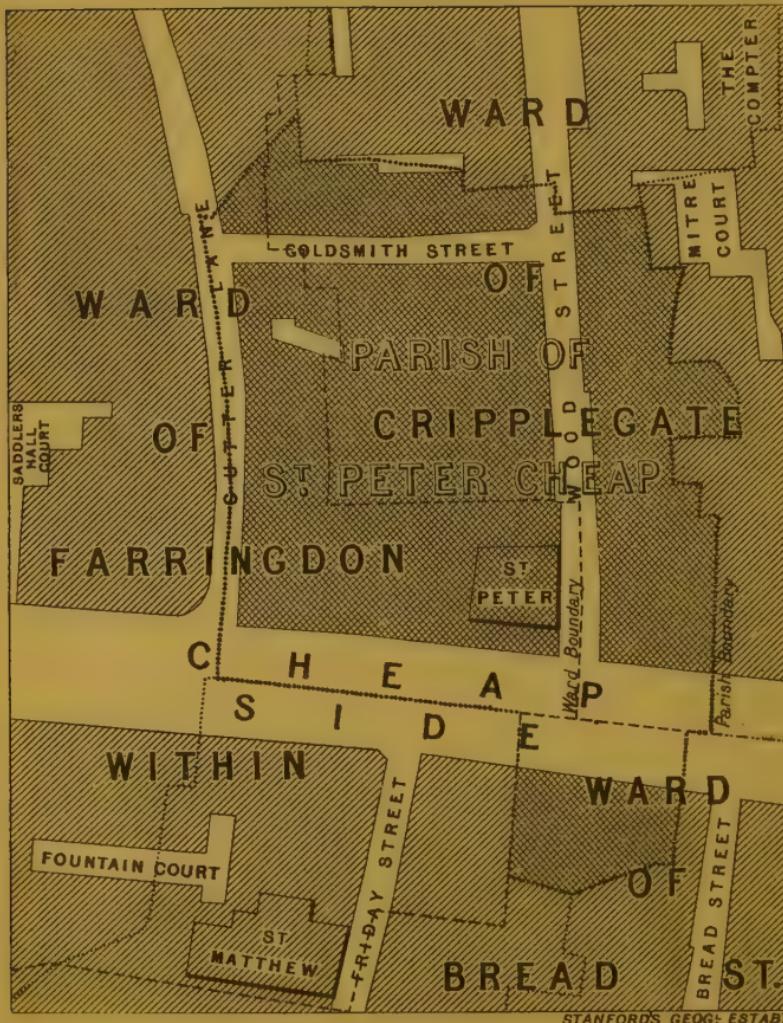
WENLOCKSBARN, the 15th stall on the right side.

In the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. I have found no clue to the name, which is sometimes written Wenlakesbarn.

WILLESDEN, otherwise BOWLNESS, or BOUNS, the 12th stall on the left side.

A part of the original manor, which comprised the whole parish, divided in or about 1150. The whole had been previously devoted to the provision of bread and beer, as mentioned in the Domesday Book.

See Appendix G.



SKETCH PLAN OF THE PARISH OF
S^T. PETER CHEAP
SHOWING IT TO BE
IN THREE WARDS.

APPENDIX F.

*Note on Wards and Parishes (Chapter VI.).*

I have said that the division of the city into estates or holdings was apparently older than the division into parishes. In another place I have dated the settlement of the ward boundaries as having occurred when Sir Ralph Sandwich was governor of the city. The parish boundaries seem to have been fixed at a very early period. They seldom coincide with the ward boundaries, but the two systems are wholly independent of each other, as may be seen by a glance at the map.

It is difficult to put this problem in a clear light without overstating the case. But the following notes may be taken for what they are worth:—

1. The earliest division of the city was into sokes, estates or holdings, and these holdings developed on the one hand into parishes, and on the other into wards.

2. But, though the ward of Bassishaw is nearly the same as the parish of St. Michael, no other parish is conterminous with a ward.

3. The boundaries of parishes are determined by the backs of the houses. The boundaries of the wards are determined by the direction of main lines of thoroughfare.

4. The wards were defined after the main thoroughfares had been opened. Thus the boundary between the wards of Cripplegate and Bread Street runs along Cheapside, and cuts off portions of the two adjacent parishes of St. Peter's and St. Mary Magdalene. The boundary between Bread Street and Queenhithe, again, runs along the course of Old Fish Street, and crosses the parishes of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey and St. Mildred.

5. The date of the fixture of the present ward boundaries must be near the end of the thirteenth century. It was made after the old Guildhall in Aldermanbury was abandoned for the present site,

and in fixing the boundary of the ward of Cheap it was made to include the Guildhall, which was then only 130 feet long. The modern Guildhall is 153 feet long, and its eastern end is not in the ward of Cheap but in that of Bassishaw, and not in the parish of St. Lawrence but in that of St. Michael. We know that the Guildhall was on the present site before 1294, because the Guildhall yard is described as being on the eastern side of St. Lawrence's church in the deed of that year by which the advowson was given to Balliol College.* But the ward of Cheap was not defined as it is now in 1273, because Walter Hervey, who was alderman of Cheap, assembled his supporters in the church of St. Peter. This church, which apparently was then in his ward, is now in that of Bread Street. There are other reasons, some of which are stated in the text, for choosing 1290 for the definition of the modern ward boundaries, and probably many facts might be found of the same character as these relating to St. Peter's and the Guildhall, all tending to confirm the correctness of this date.

6. Some parishes are in no fewer than three wards. St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street, for example, is in Castle Baynard, Queenhithe, and Bread Street. St. Peter's, referred to above, is now in Farringdon Within, Cripplegate, and Bread Street.

7. The Watling Street, running diagonally through the market place from St. Mary Aldermanry to St. Michael le Querne, seems to have been wholly obliterated and abandoned by the arrangement of the booths. This may have been in consequence of the great fire of 1136, but Mr. T. Godfrey Faussett observed a similar abandonment of Roman lines at Canterbury: and the fact has been adduced to prove that London and Canterbury lay vacant after the Saxon invasion. The old line is, however, preserved along Budge Row, before the market place is entered, and in Newgate Street, after it has been passed. From the parochial boundaries on the south side of Newgate Street it will be evident that the houses were built along a line which went diagonally from Cheap to Newgate, and was, in fact, the line of Watling Street. In Cheap itself, on the contrary, the parochial boundaries seem rather to respect the main roads north and south which lead to Cripplegate and Aldersgate from Queenhithe, of which Bread Street is an example. It follows, therefore, that at the time the parochial boundaries were settled, the original Watling Street was still in use at Newgate, but had been lost in Cheap. This accords very well with what we know of

* See Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, p. 449.

the parochial history of Cheap. As long as it was covered with booths or other temporary structures, or was wholly open, as at the Standard, it was probably reckoned only in the two parishes of St. Peter and St. Mary Aldermanbury. Subsequently smaller parishes were formed. St. Mary le Bow was built in the middle of the market place : and from its name evidently dates after the introduction of stone buildings and of vaulting. St. Mary Colechurch was also cut off, and St. Mary Abchurch. St. Mildred's must also be reckoned a late dedication—late that is, as compared with such dedications as St. Peter's or St. Mary's, and St. Pancras is probably the same. I should, in fact, be disposed to think the original parish of St. Mary reached as far north as St. Mary Aldermanbury, and St. Mary Staining ; the latter, if “staining” refers to stone building, being probably late, and the intervening parish of St. Alban being undoubtedly of an ascertained age, and dating after the grant of the parish to St. Alban's Abbey by Offa. We thus find a great parish of St. Mary, the parish church of which appropriately still bears the name of Aldermanbury, containing within its limits, besides later foundations dedicated to other saints—one of them being to St. Mary Magdalene—no fewer than six dedications of the same name as that of the mother church. On the opposite side of the Wallbrook is another great parish of St. Mary similarly broken up into St. Mary Woolchurch, St. Mary Woolnoth, and St. Mary Bothaw. Which of these was the mother church is unknown. St. Mary Woolchurch was, we know (Newcourt, i. 459), built after the Conquest : and it is very possible that these three parishes were also part of St. Mary Aldermanbury at the other side of the Wallbrook, for St. Mildred's parish was on both sides, as was St. Stephens.

8. The thirteen peculiars of the archbishop of Canterbury seem in most cases to have been late foundations. Does this point to any interference of an archbishop to build additional churches after, say, a fire? These peculiars are :—St. Mary le Bow, All Hallows Lombard Street, St. Mary Aldermanbury, St. Pancras Soper Lane, All Hallows Bread Street, St. John the Baptist, St. Dunstan in the East, St. Mary Bothaw, St. Vedast, St. Dionis, St. Michael Crooked Lane, St. Leonard Eastcheap, and St. Michael Paternoster. Several are in and about Cheap. The dedications of St. Dunstan's, St. Dionis, and St. Vedast are comparatively modern.

9. It is interesting to find examples in which the boundaries of wards or of parishes, as at Guildhall, are made to take in or leave out certain buildings or holdings. The parish of St. Leonard in its rectangular irregularity gives us the ground plan of the old

monastery of St. Martin le Grand. Therefore St. Martin was already founded when the parochial boundaries were settled. So, too, there is a "bulge" in the ward boundary to take in the outwork of the fortified gate : but no corresponding "bulge" at Ludgate, where the gate itself was inconsiderable. The parish boundary of St. Peter le Poor takes in Drapers' Hall and garden, but excludes those of the Carpenters. I venture to suggest that a complete study of the ward and parish boundaries would repay the investigator.

10. The modern Watling Street is old enough for us to have lost all trace of its documentary history. But as it does not form a boundary, I venture to think we should be justified in concluding that, comparatively speaking, it is a new street, at least in the western part of its course. The Roman road of that name must have emerged from Cheap near the south gate of St. Martin le Grand. The new Watling Street may have been diverted into its present course when the east end of Old St. Paul's was built, perhaps in the early part of the thirteenth century. Documentary evidence only begins with the end of that century.

The above ten points are all overlaid with conjecture. But I venture to think they are worth recording as at least suggestions for the use of some future archæologist.

The accompanying map represents part of Cheap as it may have been before buildings were erected on the lines of booths. I should have been disposed to omit all the churches except St. Mary Aldermary and St. Peter. But on consideration I have retained them, partly as landmarks, partly because it is impossible to fix the date of their foundation with more certainty than that indicated above in paragraph 7. The ward boundary at the north-eastern corner of St. Paul's is worth noting, showing as it does the diagonal course of the original Watling Street, where it emerges from Cheap and cuts off the corner of St. Paul's Churchyard. The modern Newgate Street does not strictly follow the original line of the Roman road, but runs across it, a little to the south in the greater part of its course. The line of Bread Street was determined by the roadway through the market to Cripplegate, by way of Wood Street, a line which must be coeval with the opening of the gate. I am almost sure that the field, "the Crown Field," sometimes mentioned as adjoining St. Mary le Bow, is a misreading of "feld" for "seld," and that there was no field, but a shop or shed on this spot.

APPENDIX G.

List of Members for WESTMINSTER CITY.

	<i>1 Edward VI.</i>		<i>1 & 2 Philip and Mary.</i>
1547.	Georgius Blage, miles. Johannes Rede, generosus.	1554.	Willielmus Jenynges, generosus. Willielmus Guyes, generosus.
1552-3.	Robertus Sowthwell, miles. Arthurus Sturton, armiger.*	1555.	Arthurus Sturton. Ricardus Hodgies.
	<i>1 Mary.</i>	1557.	†Nicholaus Newdygate, generosus. †Johannes Beaste, generosus.
1553.	Robertus Smalwood, generosus. Willielmus Gyes, generosus.		<i>1 Elizabeth.</i>
1553-4.	Willielmus Geys. Ricardus Hodges.	1558-9.	Richard Hodges. John Best, gent.
		1562-3.	‡Robert Nowell, esq. ‡William Bowyer, esq.

* Return defaced.

† Names with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are five for this Parliament) in the absence of Original Returns.

1572.	*Thomas Wilbraham, esq.	1623-4.	Sir Edward Villiers, knt.
	*John Dodington, gent.		William Man, esq.
	*John Osborne, gent., <i>vice</i> Thomas Wil- braham, esq., de- ceased.†		<i>i Charles I.</i>
1586.	‡Robert Cecyll, esq. ‡Thomas Knevett.	1625.	Sir Edward Villiers, knt.
			William Man, esq.
1588	Thomas Knevitt, (and esq.)	1625-6.	‡Sir Robert Pye, knt.
1588-9).	Peter Osborne, esq.		‡Peter Heywood, esq.
1592-3.	Richard Cecill, esq. Thomas Cole, gent.	1627-8.	‡Joseph Bradshawe, esq.
1597.	Thomas Knevitt, esq. Thomas Cole, gent.		‡Thomas Morris, esq.
1601.	Sir Thomas Knevett, knt. William Cooke, esq.	1640.	John Glenn, esq. (Apr.) William Bell, gent.
			1640. LONG PARLIAMENT. (Nov.) John Glynn, esq. William Bell, gent.
	<i>i James I.</i>		<i>Cromwell.</i>
1603-4.	Sir Thomas Knevett, knt. Sir Walter Cope, knt.	1654. §
1620-1.	Sir Edward Villiers, knt. William Mann, esq.	1661.

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are three) in the absence of Original Returns.

† Crown Office List No. 2.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List in the absence of Original Returns.

§ The Sheriff's Precept, ordering two citizens to be returned, and a fragment of the Return.

|| No Return found; the names of Sir Philip Warwicke, knt., and Sir Richard Everard, knt., are found in a list among Lord Denbigh's papers.

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| <p>1678-9. Sir Stephen Fox,
knt.
Sir William Poultney,
knt.</p> <p>1679. Sir William Pulteney,
knt.
Sir William Waller,
knt.</p> <p>1680-1. Sir William Pulteney,
knt.
Sir William Waller,
knt.</p> <p><i>1 James II.</i></p> <p>1685. Charles Bonython, esq.
Michael Arnold, esq.</p> <p>CONVENTION. 1688-9.</p> <p>1688-9. Sir William Poultney,
knt.
Philip Howard, esq.</p> <p><i>2 William and Mary.</i></p> <p>1689-90. Sir William Pulteney, knt.
Sir Walter Clarges,
bart.
Sir Stephen Fox, knt.,
<i>vice</i> Sir William
Poultney, knt., de-
ceased.</p> <p><i>3 William III.</i></p> <p>1695. Charles Mountague,
esq.
Sir Stephen Fox, knt.</p> | <p>1698. Charles Mountagu, esq.
James Vernon, esq.</p> <p>1700-1. James Vernon, esq.
Thomas Crosse, esq.</p> <p>1701. James Vernon, esq.
Sir Henry Dutton Colt,
bart.</p> <p><i>1 Anne.</i></p> <p>1702. Sir Walter Clargis,
bart.
Thomas Crosse, esq.</p> <p>1705. (FIRST PARLIAMENT OF
GREAT BRITAIN).
Henry Boyle, esq.
Sir Henry Dutton Colt,
bart.
Henry Boyle, esq., re-
elected on appoint-
ment as one of the
Principal Secretaries
of State.</p> <p>1708. Henry Boyle, esq.
Thomas Medlicott,
esq.</p> <p>1710. Thomas Medlycott,
esq., Steward of
Westminster.
Thomas Crosse, esq.
Thomas Medlycott,
esq., re-elected after
appointment to an
office of profit by
the Crown.</p> |
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1713. Sir Thomas Crosse,
bart.

Thomas Medlycot,
esq., steward of
Westminster.

i George I.

1714-15. Edward Wortley,
esq.

Sir Thomas Crosse,
bart.

1722. Archibald Hutcheson,
esq.

John Cotton, esq.

Charles Mountague,
esq., and George
Baron Carpenter of
the kingdom of Ire-
land, *vice* Archibald
Hutcheson, esq.,
and John Cotton,
esq., whose election
was declared void.

i George II.

1727. Charles Cavendish,
esq., commonly
called Lord Charles
Cavendish.

William Clayton, esq.

1734. Sir Charles Wager,
knt.

William Clayton, esq.

1741. William Lord Sundon,
of the kingdom of
Ireland.

Sir Charles Wager,
knt.

John Perceval, esq.,
commonly called
Lord Viscount Per-
ceval, and Charles
Edwin, esq., *vice*
William Lord Sun-
don, of the kingdom
of Ireland, and Sir
Charles Wager, knt.,
whose election was
declared void.

1747. Granville Leveson
Gower, esq., com-
monly called Lord
Viscount Trentham.
Sir Peter Warren, knt.
of the bath.

Granville Leveson
Gower, esq., com-
monly called Lord
Viscount Trentham,
re-elected after ap-
pointment as one of
the Lords Commiss-
ioners of the Ad-
miralty.

Edward Cornwallis,
esq., *vice* Sir Peter
Warren, knt. of the
bath, deceased.

1754. Edward Cornwallis,
esq.
Sir John Crosse, bart.

1 George III.

1761. William Pulteney, esq., commonly called Lord Viscount Pulteney.
 Edward Cornwallis, esq.
 Edward Sandys, esq., *vice* Edward Cornwallis, esq., appointed Governor of Gibraltar.
 Hugh Percy, esq., commonly called Lord Warkworth, *vice* William Pulteney, esq., commonly called Lord Viscount Pulteney, deceased.
1768. Hugh Percy, commonly called Earl Percy.
 Edwin Sandys, esq.
 Sir Robert Bernard, bart., *vice* Edwin Sandys, called to the Upper House as Lord Sandys.
1774. Hugh Percy, commonly called Earl Percy.
 Thomas Pelham Clinton, commonly called Lord Thomas Pelham Clinton.
 Charles Stanhope, commonly called Lord

- Viscount Petersham, *vice* Hugh Percy, commonly called Earl Percy, called to the Upper House as Baron de Percy.
 George Capel, commonly called Lord Viscount Malden, *vice* Charles Stanhope, commonly called Lord Viscount Petersham, called to the Upper House as Earl of Harrington.
1780. Sir George Brydges Rodney, bart.
 Charles James Fox, esq.
 Sir Cecil Wray, bart., *vice* Sir George Bridges Rodney, bart., called to the Upper House as Baron Rodney, of Rodney Stoke, county Somerset
 Charles James Fox, esq., re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State (1782).
 Charles James Fox, esq., re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal

	Secretaries of State (1783).	Vice-Admiral Sir Alan Gardner, bart.
1784.	Sir Samuel Hood, bart., Baron Hood of Ireland.* Charles James Fox, esq.* John Townshend, com- monly called Lord John Townshend, <i>vice</i> Samuel Lord Hood, appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.	1802. Charles James Fox, esq. Alan Lord Gardner. Charles James Fox, esq., re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State. Hugh Percy, com- monly called Earl Percy, <i>vice</i> Charles James Fox, esq., deceased.
1790.	Charles James Fox, esq. Sir Samuel Hood, bart., Baron Hood of the kingdom of Ireland.	1806. Richard Brinsley Sheri- dan, esq. Sir Samuel Hood, knt. of the bath.
1796. 1801.	FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRE- LAND [1801]. Charles James Fox, esq.	1807. Thomas Cochrane, commonly called. Lord Cochrane. Sir Francis Burdett, bart.
		1812. Sir Francis Burdett, bart.

* The Bailiff of Westminster certified, on 17 May, 1784, that a poll had been taken from day to day, from 9 to 3, from 1 April to 17 April, on which day the numbers stood: for Sir Samuel Hood, bart., Baron Hood, of the kingdom of Ireland, 6,694; for Charles James Fox, esq., 6,233; and for Sir Cecil Wray, bart., 5,998, and that a scrutiny had been demanded on behalf of Sir Cecil Wray. By Order of the House, the scrutiny was brought to a close on 3 March, 1785, and the Bailiff returned, on 4 March, 1785, as the result of the scrutiny, that Sir Samuel Hood, bart., Baron Hood, of the kingdom of Ireland, and Charles James Fox, esq., were elected.

Sir Thomas Cochrane, knt. of the bath, commonly called Lord Cochrane.	1831. Sir Francis Burdett, bart. John Cam Hobhouse, esq.
Sir Thomas Cochrane, knt. of the bath, commonly called Lord Cochrane, re- elected after having been expelled the House.	Sir John Cam Hob- house, bart., re- elected after appoint- ment as Secretary at War.
1818. Sir Samuel Romilly, knt. Sir Francis Burdett, bart.	1833. Sir Francis Burdett, bart. Sir John Cam Hob- house, bart.
George Lamb, esq., <i>vice</i> Sir Samuel Romilly, knt., de- ceased.	Sir John Cam Hob- house, bart., re- elected after appoint- ment as Chief Secre- tary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ire- land.
1 George IV.	Lieut.-Col. De Lacy Evans, <i>vice</i> Sir John Cam Hobhouse, bart., who accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hun- dreds, county Bucks.
1820. Sir Francis Burdett, bart. John Cam Hobhouse, esq.	1835. Sir Francis Burdett, bart. Colonel De Lacy Evans.
1826. Sir Francis Burdett, bart. John Cam Hobhouse, esq.	Sir Francis Burdett, bart., re-elected after accepting the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks.
1 William IV.	
1830. Sir Francis Burdett, bart. John Cam Hobhouse, esq.	

	<i>1 Victoria.</i>	
1837.	Colonel De Lacy Evans. John Temple Leader, esq.	1859. General Sir De Lacy Evans, G.C.B. Sir John Villiers Shelley, bart.
1841.	John Temple Leader, esq. Henry John Rous, Captain R.N. Sir De Lacy Evans, K.C.B., <i>vice</i> Henry John Rous, esq., appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.	1865. Robert Wellesley Grosvenor, esq. John Stuart Mill, esq.
1847.	Major-Gen. Sir De Lacy Evans, K.C.B. Charles Lushington, esq.	1868. Robert Wellesley Grosvenor, esq. William Henry Smith, esq.
1852.	Sir John Villiers Shelley, bart. Sir De Lacy Evans.	1874. Sir Charles Russell, bart. William Henry Smith, esq.
1857.	Lieut.-Gen. Sir De Lacy Evans, G.C.B. Sir John Villiers Shelley, bart.	William Henry Smith, esq., re-elected after appointment as First Lord of the Admiralty.
		1880. Right Hon. W. H. Smith. Sir C. Russell, bart. Lord A. Percy, <i>vice</i> Sir C. Russell, bart.

APPENDIX H.

Members of Parliament for SOUTHWARK.

<i>23 Edward I.</i>	
1295. Ricardus le Clerk. Willielmus Dynnock.	1311. Nicholaus de Aulton'. (Aug.) Johannes le Vyneter.
1298. Hugo de Jernemue. Ricardus de Dunlegh'.	1311. Nicholaus de Aulton'. (Nov.) Johannes le Vyneter.
1300-1. Hugo de Dyneneton'. Henricus de Dunlegh'.	1312-13. Johannes le Vyneter. Radulphus le Avener.
1302. Petrus le Lung'. Thomas Ywon.	1313. Thomas Jon. (July). Walterus de Taggele.
1304-5. Ricardus le Clerc. Rogerus le Poleter.	1313. Johannes le Vyneter. (Sep.) Nicholaus de Aulton'.
1306-7. Hugo de Gernemue. Johannes de Prikindon'.	1319. Adam Chandeler. Willielmus Rikethorn.
<i>Edward II.</i>	
1307. Nicholaus de Aulton'. Johannes de Maldon'.	1320. Adam le Chaundeler. Willielmus Rikthorn.
1309. Nicholaus de Alton'. Nicholaus Deumars.	1322. Robertus Oliver. (May). Willielmus de Rikethorn.
	1322. Willielmus * (Nov.) Henricus le Smith.

* Name torn off.

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|---|--|
| <p>1323-4. Walterus le Poleter.
Willielmus le Brewere.</p> <p>1325. (Ricardus?) de Weston.†
Thomas Fairher.</p> <p><i>2 Edward III.</i></p> <p>1327-8. Thomas Coleman.
Thomas Fairher, or Fairhar.</p> <p>1328. Thomas Coleman.
(Apr.) Thomas Fairher.</p> <p>1328 and 1328-9. Thomas Coleman.
Thomas Fairher.</p> <p>1329-33. Ricardus de Weston'.
Henricus le Fevre.</p> <p>1330. Willielmus Roce.
Thomas Coleman.</p> <p>1331-2. Willielmus Rosce.
Thomas Coleman.</p> <p>1332. Willielmus Rosce.
(Sep.) Thomas Coleman.</p> <p>1332. Thomas Coleman.
(Dec.) Willielmus Quyvre.</p> <p>1333-4. Thomas Coleman.
Willielmus Quyvre.</p> <p>1334. Galfridus Pocok'.
Robertus de Staunford'.</p> | <p>1335. Johannes de Wynton'.
Rogerus de Arderne.</p> <p>1335-6. Thomas Aude.
Thomas Coleman.</p> <p>1336. Rogerus de Arderne.
Galfridus Pecok.</p> <p>1337. Thomas Coleman.
Galfridus Pecok'.</p> <p>1337-8. Alanus Ferthyng'.
Robertus Hamond'.</p> <p>1338-9. Galfridus Pecok'.
Alanus Ferthyng'.</p> <p>1339-40. Thomas Coleman.
Alanus Ferthyng'.</p> <p>1340. Thomas Coleman.
Thomas Ande.</p> <p>1341. Galfridus Pecok'.
Thomas Coleman.</p> <p>1344. Galfridus Pecok'.
Thomas Coleman.</p> <p>1346. Alanus Ferthyng'.
Robertus de Staunford.</p> <p>1348. Alanus Ferthyng'.
Galfridus Pecok'.</p> <p>1350-1. Willielmus atte Fen.
Elias de Braghhyngge.</p> <p>1354. Elias de Braghhyngge.
Thomas de Kyngeston'.</p> |
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† Return illegible.

1355.	Elias de Braghyngge. Thomas de Kyngeston'.	1376-7. Thomas Hosyere, (sic). Thomas Hosyere, (<i>sic</i>).
1357-8.	Elias de Braghyng'. Thomas de Kyngeston'.	
1360.	Simon Plomer. Johannes de Hales.	1 <i>Richard II.</i>
1360-1.	Simon Plomer. Thomas de Kyngeston'.	1377. Willielmus Wyntryng- ham. Robertus Bykford'.
1362.	Johannes Mockyng. Johannes Hales.	1378. Willielmus Chylderlee. Henricus Baylly.
1363.	Johannes Halys. Thomas atte Lande.	1379-80. Thomas Corkesey. Adam Pulter.
1364-5.	Johannes Folvill'. Johannes Mockyng.	1380. Galfridus Whiteclef'. Thomas Torkesey.
1366.	Robertus Riffyn. Johannes Folvyll'.	1381. Johannes Mockyngge. Stephanus Halys.
1368.	Willielmus Chitterle. Thomas Hosyere.	1382. Johannes Mockygn'. Stephanus Halys.
1369.	*Simon de Codyngton'. *Radulphus Thurbarn'.	1382-3. Rogerus Chaundeler. Ricardus Hurde.
1371.	Thomas Dane.	1383. Johannes Burgeys. Robertus Barbor.
1372.	Johannes Spershore. Thomas Gyle.	1384. Stephanus Skynnere. (Apr.) Thomas Spicer.
1373.	Willielmus de Malton'. Thomas Hosiere.	1384. Thomas atte Gyle. (Nov.) Thomas Torkeseye.
1375-6.	Thomas Croydon'. Henricus Baily.	1385. Ricardus Nevyle. Johannes Kyrkeby.

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 43 Edw. III., m. 13 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

1386. Henricus Thymelby.
Willielmus Beeche.
- 1387-8. Johannes Nor-
hampton'.
Willielmus Porter.
1388. Ricardus atte Vyne.
Rogerus Chaundellor.
- 1389-90. Johannes Mockyng'.
Willielmus Wynteryng-
ham.
1391. Willielmus Spaldyng.*
- 1392-3. Thomas Solas.
Johannes Solas.
- 1394-5. Johannes Mockyng'.
Thomas Solas.
- 1396-7. Johannes Mokkyng'.
Thomas atte Gyle.
- 1397 and 1397-8. Johannes
Mokkyng'.
Willielmus Derby.

i Henry IV.

1399. Johannes Parker.
Radulphus Spaldyng'.
1402. Johannes Mokkynge.
Johannes Gofayre.
- 1405-6. Thomas Spenser.
Johannes Bakere.

* Name torn off.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 2 Hen. V., m. 20 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

1407. Johannes Dekene.
Thomas Coleman.

2 Henry V.

- 1413-14. †Johannes Wellys.
†Johannes William.
1414. Johannes Solas.
Willielmus Kyrton'.
1415. Willielmus Redeston'.
Thomas Spenser.
1417. Willielmus Kyrton'.
Johannes Dekene.
1419. Robertus Willyam.
Johannes Welles.
1420. Johannes Dekene.
Willielmus Kyrton'.
1421. Johannes Dekene.
(May). Willielmus Redston'.
1421. Thomas Lucas.
(Dec.) Thomas Dewy.
1422. Willielmus Kyrton'.
Ricardus Tyler.
- 2 Henry VI.*
1423. Rogerus Overton'.
Johannes Gloucestre.

1425.	[Ricardus] Tyler *	1450.	Willielmus Kyrketon'
	[Willielmus] Kyrton'.		Johannes Pemberton'.
1425-6.	Willielmus Godyng'.	1452-3.	Willielmus Philipp'.
	Rogerus Overton'.		Willielmus Brygge.
1427.	Henricus Purchas.	1459.	Alexander Fayreford',
	Petrus Saverey.		armiger.
1429.	Adam Levelord'.		Thomas Wyng.
	Willielmus Hawkes-	1460.	Willielmus Kyrton'.
	worth'.		Rogerus Palmer.
1430-1.	Johannes Wellys.		
	Willielmus Moyle.		<i>7 Edward IV.</i>
1432.	Adam Levelord'.	1467.	Ricardus Tyngelden.
	Willielmus Hawkes-		Johannes Hunt.
	worth.	1472.	Robertus Levelord.
1433.	Willielmus Hawkes-		Thomas Averey.
	worth'.	1477-8.	Nicholaus Gaynes-
	Nicholaus Preest.		ford, armiger.
1435.	Adam Levelord'.		Johannes Holgrave.
	Willielmus Hawkes-		
	worth'.		<i>21 Henry VIII.</i>
1436-7.	Adam Levelord.	1529.	Johannes Sylsterne,
	Willielmus Brygges.		miles.
1441-2.	Adam Levelord'.		Robertus Acton.
	Willielmus Kyrton'.	1541-2.	Robertus Acton,
1446-7.	Adam Levelord'.		armiger.
	Willielmus Redston'.		Thomas Bulla.
1448-9.	Johannes Rokesle.		
	Johannes Gloucestre.		<i>i Edward VI.</i>
1449.	Willielmus Kyrketon'.	1547.	Johannes Gate, miles.
	Willielmus Redeston'.		Ricardus Fulmerstone,
			generosus.

* Names doubtful. See former Returns.

1552-3. Johannes Eston, generosus.	1562-3. § Thomas Cure. § Oliff Burr, gent.
Johannes Sayer, clothyere.	1572. Oliff Burr, gent. Thomas Way, gent.
I Mary.	
1554. *Johannes Eston, (Apr.) armiger. *Johannes Sawyer.	1584. Thomas Waye. Richard Hutton.
I & 2 Philip and Mary.	
1554. Johannes † (Nov.) †	1586. ¶ Thomas Cure, esq. ¶ Richard Hutton, armourer.
1555. Johannes Eston, armiger. Humfridus Collect.	1588 and 1588-9. **Richard Hutton, esq. **William Pratt, gent.
1557-8. ‡ Johannes Eston, armiger. Robertus Freeman, generosus.	1592-3. Hugh Browker, esq., of Southwark. Richard Hutton, gent., of Southwark.
I Elizabeth.	
1558-9. John Eston, esq. Robert Freeman, gent.	1597. Edmund Boweyer, esq. Richard Hutton, gent.
	1601. Matthew Dale, esq. Zachariah Locke, esq.

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

† Returns defaced.

‡ Names with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are five for this Parliament), in the absence of Original Returns.

|| Names, &c., with (||) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are three), in the absence of Original Returns.

¶ Names, &c., with (¶) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

** Names, &c., with (**) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

1 *James I.*

- 1603-4. (*George Rivers).†
 (*William Cownden).†
 William Mayhewe,
 gent., of Southwark,
vice William Cownden,
 deceased.
- 1620-1. Richard Yarwood,
 esq., of the parish of
 St. Saviour's, South-
 wark.
 Robert Bromfeild, esq.,
 of the parish of St.
 Saviour's, Southwark.
- 1623-4. Richard Yerwood,
 esq., of Southwark.
 Robert Bromfeilde,
 esq., of Southwark.
 Francis Myngaye, esq.,
 of Southwark.
 Richard Yerwood, esq.,
 of Southwark.
 (‡) Robert Bromfeilde,
 esq.), *vice* Francis
 Myngaye, esq., and
 Robert Bromfeilde,

esq., whose election
 was declared void.

1 *Charles I.*

1625. Richard Yearwood, esq.,
 of Southwark.
 §(William Coxe, esq.) ||
- 1625-6. Richard Yearwood,
 esq., of Southwark.
 William Cox, esq., of
 Southwark.
- 1627-8. Richard Yarwood,
 esq., of Southwark.
 William Coxe, esq., of
 Southwark.
1640. Robert Holborne, esq.
 (Apr.) Richard Tuffnell, gent
1640. (LONG PARLIAMENT.)
 Edward Bagshawe, esq.
 John White, esq.
 ¶George Thompson,
 esq.
 ¶George Snellinge, esq.
- Oliver Cromwell.*
1654. Samuel Hyland, esq.
 Robert Warrcupp, esq.

* Names with (*) prefixed have been taken from Kipling's Index to the Parliamentary Returns, in the absence of Original Returns.

† There is an illegible Return, which is probably for Southwark.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

|| Return torn.

¶ Names, &c., with (¶) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, which professes to have been "taken in the year 1643, or thereabouts," in the absence of Original Returns.

12 *Charles II.*

1660. John Langham, esq.
Thomas Bludworth, esq.
1661. (LONG OR PENSIONARY PARLIAMENT).
Sir Thomas Bludworth,
knt.
George Moore, esq.
Sir Thomas Clarges,
knt., *vice* George
Moore, esq., deceased.
- 1678-9. Sir Richard How,
knt.
Peter Rich, esq.
1679. Sir Richard How, knt.
Peter Rich, esq.
- 1680-1. Sir Richard How,
knt.
Peter Rich, esq.

1 *James II.*

1685. Sir Peter Daniel, knt.
Anthony Bowyer, esq
1688. (CONVENTION).
Sir Peter Rich, knt.
John Arnold, esq.

2 *William and Mary.*

- 1689-90. Anthony Bowyer,
esq.
John Arnold, esq.

7 *William III.*

1695. Anthony Bowyer, esq.
Charles Cox, gent.
1698. Charles Cox, esq.
John Cholmley, esq.
- 1700-1701. Charles Cox, esq.
John Cholmley, esq.
1701. Charles Cox, esq.
John Cholmley, esq.
- 1 Anne.
1702. Charles Cox, esq.
John Cholmley, esq.
John Cholmley, esq.,
and Charles Cox,
esq., re-elected;
their previous election having been declared void.
1705. (FIRST PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN).
John Cholmley, esq.
Charles Cox, Esq.
1708. Charles Cox, esq.
John Cholmley, esq.
1710. Sir Charles Cox, knt.
John Cholmley, esq.
Sir George Matthews,
knt., *vice* John
Cholmley, esq., deceased.*

* Return amended by Order of the House, dated 7 February, 1711-12, by erasing the name of Edmund Halsey, esq., and substituting that of Sir George Mathews, knt.

1713. John Lade, esq.
 Fisher Tench, esq.
 John Lade, esq., and
 Fisher Tench, esq.,
 re-elected, their
 former election
 having been declared
 void.

1 George I.

- 1714-15. John Lade, esq.
 Fisher Tench, esq.

1722. George Meggott, esq.
 Edmund Halsey, esq.
 John Lade, esq., *vice*
 George Meggott,
 esq., deceased.

1 George II.

1727. Edward Halsey, esq.
 Sir Joseph Eyles, knt.
 Thomas Juwen, esq.,
vice Edmund Halsey,
 esq., deceased.

1734. Thomas Inwen, esq.
 George Heathcote, esq.

1741. Thomas Inwen, esq.
 Ralph Thrale, esq.
 Alexander Hume, esq.,
vice Thomas Inwen,
 esq., deceased.

1747. Alexander Hume, esq.
 William Belchier, esq.

1754. William Belchier, esq.
 William Hammond,
 esq.

1 George III.

1761. Alexander Hume, esq.
 Joseph Mawbey, esq.
 Henry Thrale, esq.,
vice Alexander
 Hume, esq., de-
 ceased.

1768. Sir Joseph Mawbey,
 bart.
 Henry Thrale, esq.

1774. Nathaniel Polhill, esq.
 Henry Thrale, esq.

1780. Sir Richard Hotham,
 knt.
 Nathaniel Polhill, esq.
 Henry Thornton, esq.,
vice Nathaniel Pol-
 hill, esq., deceased.

1784. Henry Thornton, esq.
 Sir Barnard Turner,
 knt.
 Paul le Mesurier, esq.,
vice Sir Barnard
 Turner, knt.

1790. Henry Thornton, esq.
 Paul le Mesurier, esq.

- 1796 (PARLIAMENT OF GREAT
 BRITAIN, afterwards
 in 1801 declared to be
 FIRST PARLIAMENT

	OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.)	Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, knt.
1801.	Henry Thornton, esq. George Woodford Thellusson, esq. George Tierney, esq., <i>vice</i> George Woodford Thelusson, esq., whose election was declared void	Charles Calvert, esq. Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, knt.
1802.	Henry Thornton, esq. George Tierney, esq. George Tierney, esq., re-elected after appointment as Treasurer of the Navy.	<i>i William IV.</i>
1806.	Sir Thomas Turton, bart. Henry Thornton, esq.	John Rawlinson Harris, esq. Lieut.-Gen. Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, knt.
1807.	Sir Thomas Turton, bart. Henry Thornton, esq.	Charles Calvert, esq., <i>vice</i> John Rawlinson Harris, esq., deceased.
1812.	Charles Calvert, esq. Henry Thornton, esq. Charles Barclay, esq., <i>vice</i> Henry Thornton, esq., deceased.	Charles Calvert, esq. William Brougham, esq.
1818.	Charles Calvert, esq. Sir Robert Wilson, knt.	William Brougham, John Humphery, esq.
	<i>i George IV.</i>	John Humphery, esq. Daniel Whittle Harvey, esq.
1820.	Charles Calvert, esq.	Daniel Whittle Harvey, esq., re-elected after appointment as

* Return amended by Order of the House, dated 21 December, 1796, by erasing the name of George Woodford Thellusson, and substituting that of George Tierney, esq.

- Registrar of Metropolitan Public Carriages.
- Benjamin Wood, *vice* Daniel Whittle Harvey, esq., appointed Commissioner of Police for the city of London.
1841. John Humphery, esq. Benjamin Wood, esq. Sir William Molesworth, bart., *vice* Benjamin Wood, esq., deceased.
1847. John Humphery, esq., of Southwark, one of the aldermen of the city of London. Sir William Molesworth, bart.
1852. Sir William Molesworth, bart. Apsley Pellatt, esq., of Southwark. Sir William Molesworth, bart., re-elected after appointment as Chief Commissioner of Works. Sir William Molesworth, bart., re-elected after appointment as one of the Principal Secretaries of State.
- Vice Admiral Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B., *vice* Sir William Molesworth, bart., deceased.
1857. Sir Charles Napier, knt., Vice Admiral of the Navy. John Locke, esq., M.A., and barrister-at-law.
1859. Sir Charles Napier, knt. John Locke, esq., Q.C. Austin Henry Layard, esq., *vice* Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B., deceased. John Locke, esq., Q.C., re-elected after appointment as Recorder of Brighton.
1865. John Locke, esq. Austen Henry Layard, esq.
1868. John Locke, esq. Austen Henry Layard, esq. Austen Henry Layard, esq., re-elected after appointment as First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings.

Lieut.-Col. Marcus Beresford, *vice* Austen Henry Layard, esq., who accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, county Bucks.

1874. John Locke, esq., Q.C.

Col. Francis Marcus Beresford.
Edward George Clarke, esq., barrister-at-law, *vice* John Locke, esq., deceased.

1880. A. Cohen.

J. E. T. Rogers.

APPENDIX I.

List of Members of Parliament for Middlesex.

<i>23 Edward I.</i>	<i>1 Edward II.</i>
1295. Willielmus de Brok'. Stephanus de Graves- end.	1307. Johannes de la Poile, miles. Willielmus de Brok', miles.
1298. Ricardus de Wyndesor'. Henricus de Enefield.	1309. Ricardus de Wynde- sore, miles. Willielmus de Brok'.
1299-1300. Ricardus de Win- dlesor'. Henricus de Enefield.	1311. Ricardus de Wynde- sore. Ricardus le Rous.
1302. Willielmus de Brok'. Ricardus le Rous.	1312-13. Ricardus de Wyn- desores, miles. Ricardus le Rous, miles.
1304-5. Willielmus de Har- pedene, miles. Ricardus le Rus, miles.	1313. *Johannes de la Poille. (July.) *Ricardus le Rous.
1306. Ricardus le Rous, miles. Ricardus de Wyndel- sore, miles.	1313. Johannes de la Poile, (Sep.) miles. Ricardus le Rous, miles.
1306-7. Ricardus le Rous. Johannes de la Poile.	

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see Rot. Claus.*, 7 Edw. II., m. 27 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

1314.	*Johannes de Enefeud'. *Walterus Crepyn.	1322.	Ricardus Duraunt. (Nov.) Willielmus le Rous.
1314-15.	Johannes de Enefeld. Ricardus de Bachesworth'.	1323-4.	Ricardus de Heyle. Willielmus le Rous.
1315-16.	Henricus de Bydyk.	1324.	Johannes atte Pole. Walterus de Sallyngg'.
1316.	†Henricus de Frowyk'. (July.)	1325.	Walterus Morice. Johannes de Oysterle.
1318.	Henricus Bydyk'. Gilbertus Barentyn.	1326-7.	Rogerus de Brok'. Henricus de Frowyk'.
1319.	Willielmus Tornegold.‡ Reginaldus Tulusan.‡		1 Edward III.
1320.	Henricus de Bydyk'. Willielmus Tornegold.	1327.	Johannes de Bloxham. Henricus de Bywik'.
1321.	Johannes de Enefeld. Johannes de Waudon'.	1327-8.	Henricus Frouwyk'. Alanus atte Munte.
1322.	§Walterus Crepyng'. (May.) §Willielmus de Fynnore.	1328.	Walterus Morice. (Ap.) Johannes Heroun.
		1328.	¶Johannes de Oysterle. (July.) ¶Thomas Derk.

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 8 Edw. II., m. 31 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 10 Edw. II., m. 28 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ *Loco militum.*

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 15 Edw. II., m. 9 d. in cedula), in the absence of the Original Returns.

|| Valettus against this name in the Enrolment of the Writ de Expensis.

¶ Names, &c., with (¶) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 2 Edw. III., m. 16 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

1328-9. Ricardus de Heyle. Thomas de Saunford.	1335-6. Henricus Frowyk. Edmundus Flambard.
1329-30. Robertus de Boys. Henricus de Grundes- burgh.	1336. Johannes de Eyston. Willielmus de Chyding- fold'.
1330. Ricardus de Wyndesor'. Johannes de Bray.	1337. Johannes de Charleton'. Johannes de Braye.
1331. *Ricardus de Pouns. (Sep.) *Gilbertus Haward.	1337-8. Johannes de Enefeld'. Walterus de Sallyngg'.
1331-2. Ricardus de Pouns. Stephanus Joun.	1338. Johannes de Charleton'. Ricardus de Wyndel- sore.
1332. †Johannes Wroth. (Dec.) †Rogerus Belet.	1338-9. Walterus de Sallyng'. Johannes de Enefeld'.
1333-4. Nicholaus le Despen- sor.‡ Johannes fil' Domini Johannis de Enefeld.‡	1339-40. Simon de Swan- lond. Thomas de Saunford.
1334. §Henricus Wiliot. §Edmundus Flambard'.	1340. Simon de Swanlond. Thomas de Saunford.
1335. Rogerus Belet. Henricus Wyliot.	1341. Rogerus de Leukenore. Henricus Wylyot.

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 5 Edw. III., p. 2. m. 6 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 7 Edw. III., p. 1. m. 21 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ *Loco militis.*

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 8 Edw. III., m. 8 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

|| Names, &c., with (||) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 14 Edw. III., p. 1. m. 45 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

1343.	Thomas de Norton'.	1355.	†Thomas de Frowyk. ‡Nicholaus atte Wyke.
1344.	Simon de Swanlond. Willielmus de Lange- ford.	1357-8.	Thomas Morice. Thomas de Frowyk'.
1346.	Willielmus Bisshop'. Johannes atte Pyrye.	1360.	Thomas Morice. Nicholaus de Herwod'.
1347-8.	Willielmus de Laven- ham. Johannes Baret.	1360-1.	Thomas Moris. Willielmus de Hatton'.
1348.	*Willielmus de Laven- ham. *Johannes Baret.	1362.	Willielmus de Swan- lond. Johannes Wroth', jun.
1350-1.	Rogerus de Leuke- nore. Johannes Lovell'.	1363.	Ricardus Rook', jun. Johannes de Shor- diss'h', or de Shor- dich'.
1351-2.	†Johannes atte Perye. †Thomas de Frowyk'.	1364-5.	Willielmus de Swan- lond. Johannes Wroth', jun.
1352.	Johannes atte Pole, miles.	1366.	Johannes Wroth, jun. Gregorius Fanelore.
1353.	Johannes atte Pole.	1368.	Johannes Wroth', jun Gregorius Fanelore.
1354.	Thomas de Frowyk. Johannes atte Pole.	1369.	Thomas Frowyk'. Johannes Wroth', jun.

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 22 Edw. III., p. 1. m. 24 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 26 Edw. III., m. 28 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 29 Edw. III., m. 3 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

1370-1. Johannes Pekkebrugg.	Johannes de Shordych'.‡
Nicholaus de Exton'.	
1371. Johannes Pekbrugg.	1380. Adam Fraunceys.
1372. Johannes Wroth', jun. Johannes de Shordych'.	Baldewinus de Radyngton'.
1373. Johannes de Peckeburg, chivaler. Robertus de Anesty.	1381. Johannes de Shordych'. Thomas Charleton'.
1375-6. Johannes de Shordich'. Egidius Pykeman.	1382. Johannes Saunford'. (May.) Willielmus Barnevill'.
1376-7. Nicholaus de Exton'. Henricus Frowyk.	1382. Adam Fraunceys, (Oct.) chivaler. Johannes Wroth'.
I Richard II.	
1377. *Johannes de Saunford'. *Thomas de Farndon'.	1382-3. Johannes Durham. Godefridus atte Piry'e.
1378. Thomas de Pynnore. Thomas Brakenburgh'.	1383. Johannes Saunford'. Thomas Pynnore.
1379. †Johannes Pekbrigg'. †Willielmus de Swanlond.	1384. Johannes Wroth', sen. (Apr.) Nicholaus de Exton'.
1379-80. Nicholaus de Exton'.‡	1384. Thomas Charlton'. (Nov.) Johannes Durham.
	1385. Adam Fraunceys, chivaler. Johannes Pekbrigg, chivaler.

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 1 Ric. II., m. 22 d.) in the absence of Original Returns.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 2 Ric. II., m. 3 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ *Loco militis.*

1386.	Adam Fraunceys, chivaler. Willielmus Swanlond'.	1396.	Thomas Maydeston'. Thomas Godlak'.
1387-8.	*Adam Fraunceys. *Willielmus Swanlond'.	1397	and 1397-8. §Adam Fraunceys, chivaler. §Johannes Wroth', chivaler.
1388.	Willielmus Barnevyll'. Godefridus atte Pirye.†		
1389-90.	Johannes Shordych', senior. Thomas Conyngesby.		
1390.	Adam Fraunceys. Johannes Shordiche.	1399.	Johannes Durham. Thomas Maydeston'.
1391.	Thomas Braye. Willielmus Norton'.	1400.	Johannes Wrothe, chivaler. Willielmus Loveneye.
1392-3.	Willielmus Tam- worth'.	1401-2.	Thomas Conyn- gesby. Jacobus Northampton'.
	Thomas Maydeston'.	1403.	Johannes Wroth', chivaler. Willielmus Wroth'.
1393-4.	‡Johannes Shor- diche, junior. ‡Jacobus Ormesby.	1404.	Rogerus Straunge, chivaler. Willielmus Powe.
1394.	Johannes Shordych', junior. Thomas Conyngesby.		

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 11 Ric. II., m. 4 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

† Galfridus in the Enrolment of the Writ de Expensis.

‡ Names, &c. with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 17 Ric. II., m. 9 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 21 Ric. II., p. 2, m. 9 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

|| All the names [of this parliament] are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 6 Hen. IV., m. 5 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

1405-6. Johannes Wroth', miles. Henricus Somer.	1421. Ricardus Maydeston'. (Dec.) Edmundus Bybbesworth'.
1407. Johannes Loveney. Henricus Somer.	
1411. Adam Fraunceys, chivaler. Rogerus Straunge, chivaler.	1422. Thomas Charlton', chivaler. Thomas Frowyk'.
<i>I Hen. V.</i>	
1413. Willielmus Loveney, armiger. Ricardus Wyot, armiger.	1423. Walterus Gawtron'. Walterus Grene.
1413-14. *Simon Camp'. *Walterus Grene.	1425. Thomas Charleton', chivaler. Robertus Warner.
1414. Thomas Charlton. Johannes Waldene.	1425-6. Walterus Grene. Johannes Shordyche.
1415. Simon Camp'. Thomas Conyngesby.	1427. Thomas Charlton', chivaler. Thomas Frowyk', armiger.
1417. Henricus Somer. Walterus Gawtron'.	1429. Henricus Somer. Walterus Grene.
1419. Thomas Frowyk. Thomas Conyngesby.	1430-1. Thomas Charlton'. Alexander Anne.
1420. Johannes de Boys, chivaler Walterus Grene.	1432. Thomas Frowyk'. Alexander Anne.
1421. Thomas Charlton', (May) chivaler. Henricus Somer.	1433. Johannes Asshe. Ricardus Maydeston'.
	1435. Thomas Frowyk'. Walterus Grene.

* Names, &c., with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Enrolment of the Writs de Expensis (*see* Rot. Claus., 2 Hen. V., m. 20 d.), in the absence of Original Returns.

1436-7.	Alexander Anne. Willielmus Wroth'.	1477-8.	Johannes Elryngton, armiger. Thomas Wyndesore, armiger.
1441-2.	Magister Johannes Somerseth'. Thomas Charlton', armiger.	21 Henry VIII.	
1446-7.	Thomas Charleton', armiger. Thomas Frowyk', junior.	1529.	Robertus Wroth', armiger. Ricardus Hawkes, gent.
1448-9.	Johannes Lemington'. Robertus Tanfeld'.	1541-2.	Robertus Cheseman, armiger. Johannes Hewes, armiger.
1450.	Walterus Grene, armiger. Thomas Frowyk', generosus.	7 Edward VI.	
1459.	Thomas Charleton', miles. Johannes Myrywether, armiger.	1552-3.	Robertus Bowes, miles. Thomas Wroth, miles.
1460.	Thomas Charleton', miles. Thomas Frowyk', armiger.	1 Mary.	
7 Edward IV.		1553.	Edwardus Hastings, (Oct.) miles. Johannes Nudigate, armiger.
1467.	Thomas Frowyk, armiger. Rogerus Ree, armiger.	1554.	Edwardus Hastynges, (Apr.) miles. Johannes Nudigate, armiger.
1472.	Rogerus Ree, miles. Robertus Grene, miles.	1 & 2 Philip and Mary.	
		1554.	Edwardus Hastynges, (Nov.) miles, magister equorum domine regine. Rogerus Cholmeley, miles.

1555.	Edwardus Hastyngeſ, prenobilis ordinis garterii miles, magiſter equorum domine regine.	1588-9. Robert Wrothe, esq. William Fletewood, esq.
	Rogerus Cholmeley, miles.	1592-3. Robert Wrothe, esq., of Enfield. Francis Bacon, esq., of Gray's Inn, county Middlesex.
1557-8.	Rogerus Cholmeley, miles. *Johannes Newdygate, armiger.	1597. Robert Wroth. John Peighton.
	† <i>Elizabeth.</i>	1601. Sir John Fortescue, knt., Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir Robert Wroth, knt.
1558-9.	Sir Roger Cholmeley, knt. Sir Thomas Wrothe, knt.	† <i>James I.</i>
1562-3.	†Sir William Cordell, knt. †Sir Thomas Wrothe, knt.	1603-4. Sir Robert Wroth, senior, knt. Sir William Fleetwood, knt.
1572.	‡Robert Wrothe, esq. ‡Sir Owen Hopton, knt, Lieutenant of the Tower of Lon- don.	Sir John Fortescue, knt., Chancellor of the Duchy of Lan- caster, and a Privy Counsellor, <i>vice</i> Sir Robert Wroth, knt., deceased.
1586.	§Robert Wrothe, esq. §William Fletewood, esq.	Sir Robert Wrothe,

* Names with (*) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are five for this Parliament), in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office Lists (of which there are three), in the absence of Original Returns.

§ Names, &c., with (§) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

	knt., <i>vice</i> Sir John Fortescue, knt., deceased.*	Sir John Francklin, knt. Sir Edward Spencer, knt., <i>vice</i> Sir John Francklyn, knt., deceased.
1620-1.	Sir Francis Darcy, knt.	
	Sir Gilbert Gerrard, bart.	<i>Oliver Cromwell.</i>
1623-4.	Sir John Suckyn, knt., Comptroller of the Household.	1656. Sir William Roberts, knt.
	Sir Gilbert Gerrard, bart.	Sir John Barkstead, knt.
		Challoner Chute, sen., esq.
		William Kiffyn, esq.
	<i>Charles I.</i>	<i>Richard Cromwell.</i>
1625.	Sir John Francklyn, knt.	1658-9. Francis Gerard, esq. Challenor Chute, sen., esq.
	Sir Gilbert Gerrard, bart.	
1625-6.	†Sir (? Edward) Spenser, knt.	<i>Charles II.</i>
	†Sir Gilbert Gerrard, bart.	(THE LONG OR PENSIONARY PARLIAMENT.)
1627-8.	†Sir Henry Spiller, knt.	1661. Sir Lancelot Lake, knt. Sir Thomas Allen, knt.
	†Sir Francis Darcy, knt.	
1640. (LONG PARLIAMENT.)		1678-9. Sir William Roberts, bart.
(Nov.)	Sir Gilbert Garrarde, bart.	Sir Robert Peyton, knt.

* No Return found; the name is endorsed on the Writ, which is dated 28 July, 1607.

† Names, &c., with (†) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

‡ Names, &c., with (‡) prefixed are supplied from the Crown Office List, in the absence of Original Returns.

1679. Sir William Roberts,
bart
Sir Robert Peyton, knt.

1680-1. Sir William Roberts,
bart.
Nicholas Raynton, esq.

1 James II.

1685. Sir Charles Gerrard,
bart.
Edward Hawtry, esq.

(CONVENTION.)

1688-9. Sir Charles Gerard,
bart., of Harrow-
on-the-Hill, county
Middlesex.
Ralph Hawtrey, esq.,
of Rislipp, county
Middlesex.

2 William & Mary.

1689-90. Sir Charles Gerrard,
bart.
Ralph Hawtrey, esq.

7 William III.

1695. Edward Russell, esq.
Sir John Wolsten-
holme, bart.

1698. Warwick Lake, esq.
Sir John Wolsten-
holme, bart.

1700-1. Hugh Smithson, esq.
Warwick Lake, esq.

1701. Warwick Lake, esq.
John Austen, esq.

1 Anne.

1702. Warwick Lake, esq.
Hugh Smithson, esq.

(FIRST PARLIAMENT OF
GREAT BRITAIN.)

1705. Scorie Barker, esq.
Sir John Wolsten-
holme, bart.
1708. Sir John Wolsten-
holme, bart.
Scorie Barker, esq.
John Austin, esq., vice
Sir John Wolsten-
holme, bart., de-
ceased.

1710. James Bertie, esq.
Hugh Smithson, esq.

1713. James Bertie, esq.
Hugh Smithson, esq.

1 George I.

1714-15. James Bertie, esq.
Hugh Smithson, esq.

1722. James Bertie, esq.
Sir John Austin, bart.

1 George II.

1727. James Bertie, esq.
Francis Child, esq.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1734. Sir Francis Child, knt.
William Pulteney, esq.
Sir Hugh Smithson,
bart., <i>vice</i> Sir Francis
Child, knt., deceased. | pointment as Pay-
master-General of
the Land Forces. |
| 1741. William Pulteney, esq.
Sir Hugh Smithson,
bart.

Sir Roger Newdigate,
bart., <i>vice</i> William
Pulteney, esq., called
to the Upper House
as Earl of Bath. | 1768. George Cooke, esq.
John Wilkes, esq.
John Glynn, esq., <i>vice</i>
George Cooke, esq.,
deceased.
John Wilkes, esq., re-
elected after being
expelled the House.
John Wilkes, esq., re-
elected after being
adjudged by the
House of Commons
incapable of being
elected, and his elec-
tion for the county
of Middlesex de-
clared void. |
| 1747. Sir Hugh Smithson,
bart.

Sir William Beauchamp
Proctor, bart.

George Cooke, <i>vice</i>
Sir Hugh Smithson,
bart., called to the
Upper House as
Earl of Northumber-
land. | Henry Lawes Lutterell,
esq., <i>vice</i> John
Wilkes, esq., "ad-
judged by the House
of Commons incap-
able of being elected
a member to serve in
the present Parlia-
ment, and the elec-
tion and return of
the said John Wilkes,
for the county of
Middlesex, having
been declared null
and void."* |
| 1754. Sir William Beauchamp
Proctor, bart.

George Cooke, esq. | |
| <i>I George III.</i> | |
| 1761. Sir William Beauchamp
Proctor, bart., knt.
of the bath.

George Cooke, esq.
George Cooke, esq.,
re-elected after ap- | |

* Return amended by Order of the House, dated 15 April, 1769, by erasing the name of John Wilkes, esq., and substituting the name of Henry Lawes Luttrell, esq.

1774.	John Wilkes, esq. John Glynn, esq. Thomas Wood, esq., <i>vice</i> John Glynn, esq., deceased.	1806.	William Mellish, esq. George Byng, esq.
1780.	John Wilkes, esq. George Byng, esq.	1807.	William Mellish, esq. George Byng, esq.
1784.	John Wilkes, esq. William Mainwaring, esq.	1812.	George Byng, esq. William Mellish, esq.
1790.	William Mainwaring, esq. George Byng, esq.	1818.	William Mellish, esq. George Byng, esq. <i>i George IV.</i>
1796.	(PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN. Its mem- bers declared to be members of the FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1801.)	1820.	George Byng, esq. Samuel Charles Whit- bread, esq.
1801.	William Mainwaring, esq. George Byng, esq.	1826.	George Byng, esq. Samuel Charles Whitbread, esq. <i>i William IV.</i>
1802.	George Byng, esq. Sir Francis Burdett, bart. George Boulton Main- waring, esq., <i>vice</i> Sir Francis Burdett, bart., whose election was declared void.*	1830.	George Byng, esq. Joseph Hume, esq.
		1831.	George Byng, esq. Joseph Hume, esq.
		1833.	Joseph Hume, esq. George Byng, esq.
		1835.	George Byng, esq. Joseph Hume, esq. <i>i Victoria.</i>
		1837.	George Byng, esq. Thomas Wood, the younger, esq.

* Return amended by Order of the House, dated 5 March, 1805, by erasing the name of George Boulton Mainwaring, esq., and substituting that of Sir Francis Burdett, bart. Return further amended by Order of the House, dated 10 February, 1806, by erasing the name of Sir Francis Burdett, bart., and substituting that of George Boulton Mainwaring, esq.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1841. George Byng, esq.
Thomas Wood, the
younger, esq.
Robert Grosvenor,
commonly called
Lord Robert Gros-
venor, <i>vice</i> George
Byng, esq., deceased. | 1859. Robert Hanbury, the
younger, esq.
George Henry Charles
Byng, esq. |
| 1847. Robert Grosvenor,
commonly called
Lord Robert Gros-
venor.
Ralph Osborne, esq. | 1865. Robert Culling Han-
bury, esq.
George Henry Charles
Byng, commonly
called Viscount En-
field.
Henry Labouchere,
esq., <i>vice</i> Robert
Culling Hanbury,
esq., deceased. |
| 1852. Robert Grosvenor,
commonly called
Lord Robert Gros-
venor.
Ralph Osborne, esq. | 1868. George Henry Charles
Byng, esq., commonly
called Lord Enfield.
George Francis Hamil-
ton, esq., commonly
called Lord George
Francis Hamilton. |
| 1857. Robert Grosvenor,
commonly called
Lord Robert Gros-
venor.
Robert Hanbury, the
younger, esq.
George Henry Charles
Byng, esq., <i>vice</i>
Robert Grosvenor,
commonly called
Lord Robert Gros-
venor, who accepted
the Stewardship of
the Manor of Hemp-
holme, county York. | 1874. Octavius Edward
Coope, esq.
George Francis Hamil-
ton, commonly called
Lord George Francis
Hamilton. |
| | 1880. George Francis Hamil-
ton commonly called
Lord George Francis
Hamilton.
Octavius Edward
Coope, esq. |

INDEX.

A.

Aldermen, earliest list of, and their wards, i. 189; second list, *ib.*; origin of title, 190; how they are elected, 446.

Alfred, king; he takes London by siege, i. 65; builds new gates, *ib.*; defeats the Danes, 66.

Arlington House, afterwards Buckingham House, ii. 118.

Armada, preparations against the, i. 328.

Asklepiodotus, sails for England in a fog, i. 38; defeats Allectus, i. 39.

Ashburnham House, Westminster, ii. 65.

Audley, ii. 103.

Austin Friars, its origin, i. 238.

B.

Backwell, Edward, banker of Cromwell, i. 392; of Charles II., 393; his political importance, *ib.*

Bank, the, i. 391; first idea of starting one, 407; William

Paterson's scheme, *ib.*; formation of the Bank of England, 408; worked out by Michael Godfrey, 409; Sir John Houbillon, first governor, *ib.*; present

state of, 410; first difficulties, 412; dangerous run on it in Queen Anne's reign, 413; South Sea Bubble, 415; Walpole's measures, 416; the Bank safe again, 417.

Bankers, the first, i. 327; history of, 391; Edward Backwell, banker in seventeenth century, 392; family history of the Childs, 393; Child of the *Marygold*, 394; Duncombe of the *Grasshopper*, 396.

Barnard's Inn, Holborn, ii. 75. Barton, Elizabeth, the Kentish prophetess of the sixteenth century, i. 304.

Bassishaw or Basinghall ward, named after the Basings, i. 158.

Battersea, ii. 281; history of the parish, *ib.*; park, 282; history of the St. Johns, *ib.*; church rebuilt, 284; tombs, *ib.*

Baynard's Castle, probable errors respecting, ii. 40.

Bayswater, ii. 242.

Black Friars, the, i. 206; their new buildings, 233; great abuse of the order, 261; strange scene in a parliament held in their hall, 302.

- Blackfriars' Bridge built, i. 419.
 Blemund, William, his dyke, ii. 202.
 Bloomsbury, origin of name, ii. 202; church, 203; manor, 204; a "noble suburb," 207; British Museum, *ib.*; Long Fields, 210; new church of St. George, 212; eminent inhabitants, *ib.*, 213.
 Becketts, the, their family and old house in Cheap, i. 113; early youth of Thomas, 120.
 Beda, account of London by, i. 56.
 Bedlam, first belonged to the city, i. 307.
 Bermondsey, ii. 286; history of, 287; once a health resort, 288; the abbey church, 289; local names, 290; Rotherhithe, *ib.*; Prince Lee Boo's grave, 291.
 Bethnal Green Museum, ii. 154.
 Bishop, the, i. 226; Sudbury's death, 243; Courtenay's popularity, 245; Braybrook, 253; the bishop's force against Essex, 330.
 —— of London appointed by king of Kent, i. 52.
 Bishops, trial of the, i. 402.
 Bridewell, palace of, made into a workhouse, i. 308-309.
 Bridge House Estate, the, its origin, i. 321.
 British Museum, the, ii. 207; account of its commencement, *ib.*; successive additions to the library, 208; Elgin marbles, *ib.*; drawings by great masters, 209; appearance of the building, *ib.*
 Britons, destruction of, in the fifth century, i. 51.
 Brompton, ii. 257.
 Buckingham House, ii. 118; library of George III., 119; now the palace, *ib.*
 "Burh-bote and bryc-geweorc," i. 53.
- C.
- Cade, Jack, rebellion of, i. 272-276.
 Campden Hill, ii. 254.
 —— House, ii. 249; owners, 250; burnt down, 253; rebuilt, *ib.*
 Canonbury and lord Compton, ii. 180.
 Canons, owned by duke of Chandos, ii. 23.
 Canute, his canal, i. 70; he obtains London by treason of Edric, 71.
 Carlton House, ii. 117.
 Caroline, queen of George II., ii. 116, 126.
 —— queen of George IV., i. 440.
 Caxton's house, ii. 44; life, 46; books, 47.
 Celts, probable site of London in time of the, i. 16.
 "Century of Inventions," ii. 72.
 Chancery Lane and old Blackfriars, ii. 73.
 Charing Cross, the old, ii. 86; execution of the regicides on the site, *ib.*
 Charles I., ill-feeling between him and the city, i. 341; writs for shipmoney, 342; arrest of the five members, 343; his execution, 348; ii. 113.
 Charles II., his reception by London, i. 349-351; his plunder of the goldsmiths, 396; his enmity to the city, 397.

- Charterhouse site, ii. 169; ill-treatment of Carthusian monks, 170; subsequent history of the house, 171; Charterhouse school removed to Godalming, 172.
- Chaucer, ii. 44.
- Cheap, the, "selds" in, i. 110, 177; the "clearing of Cheap," 178-180; tournaments in, 211-212; buildings on, 241.
- Chelsea, ii. 259; history of, 260; More's house, 262; parish church, 263; Chelsea Hospital, 264.
- Child, Sir Francis, banker, i. 393; Robert, anecdote of his daughter's marriage, 414.
- Chiswick, ii. 25; residence of lord Burlington, the "architect," 26; rooms of Fox and of Canning, 27; garden laid out by Kent, and improved by Paxton, 28; gate by Inigo Jones, 28.
- Churches, absence of Christian, in the Roman times, i. 45; dedications of London, 46, 60; parish, in the fourteenth century, 227; Wren's, 373.
- City, ancient rights of the, i. 405; fully restored under William and Mary, *ib.*; present danger, *ib.*; possible reforms, 442; original liberty of, 444.
- Clerkenwell, ii. 172; hospitallers, 173; nunnery, 174.
- Clitherows of Boston, near Brentford, ii. 15.
- Cornish, Henry, alderman, i. 397; his arrest, 400; execution in Cheapside, 401; head set up over Guildhall, 402.
- Colechurch, Sir Peter of, curate and architect, i. 114.
- Colet, Dean, ii. 155.
- Common Council, how it is elected, i. 446.
- Companies, the rise of the, i. 156. *See Guilds.*
- Cornhill, early mention of, i. 164; the battle of, 347..
- Cornhills, the, landowners of the city, i. 160.
- Cowper, connection with Westminster of, ii. 50.
- Cotters, the king's thirty, i. 85.
- Covent Garden, origin of name, ii. 83.
- Craven, the good earl of, ii. 242; history of, 244.
- Cromwell, Thomas, state of London at his time, i. 305; his tyranny in building his mansion, 309; his brother-in-law Williams obtains St. St. Helen's Priory, 310.
- Crosby Place, i. 290-294.
- "Crown property," meaning of, ii. 165.
- D.
- "Danegeld," i. 68.
- Danes, irruption of the, i. 64; ii. 71.
- Danish occupation, relic of, i. 69.
- Deorman, ancient grant of land to, i. 87; family of, ii. 180.
- Docwra, Thomas, prior of St. John of Jerusalem, ii. 176.
- Domesday Book, exemption of London from, i. 85.
- Dowgate, ancient remains found by Sir C. Wren at, i. 14.
- Duket, Lawrence, death of, anecdote of city usages in the thirteenth century, i. 93-95.

E.

- Early Christianity in London, i.
55; finally established, 59.
- East Saxons, i. 52.
- Edward I., rule of, in the city, i.
182.
- Edward II., his dealings with
the city, i. 200.
- Edward III., birth of, notified
to the city, i. 199; reign
begins, 209; his marriage and
wedding-gifts from the city,
210-211; his war with France,
215; his welcome on his re-
turn, 225; enrolled as a linен-
armourer, *ib.*
- Edward IV., election by Lon-
doners of, i. 281.
- Eia, manor of, history of, ii.
101-104.
- Elephants, remains of, found
along the Thames and Lea
rivers, i. 11.
- Elizabeth, entry of queen, i. 325;
her great-grandfather mayor
of London, *ib.*; thanksgiving
at defeat of the Armada, 328;
lamentation at her death, 329;
pauperism in her reign, *ib.*
- Elsing Hospital, blind asylum
under Henry VIII., i. 303, 306.
- Ely Place, *see* Holborn.
- Enfield, manor of, ii. 9.
- Environs of London, places of
interest, ii. 30.
- "Evecheping" in Soper Lane,
i. 194.
- "Evil May Day," account of,
i. 297.

F.

- Farringdon Without and With-
in, wards named after the
Farringsons, i. 159.

- Finsbury, or Holywell manor, ii.
167-168.
- Fire, the great, i. 332, 358-361.
- Fitz Peter, Joce, i. 159, 231; ii. 70.
- Fitz Stephen's account of Lon-
don in his life of St. Thomas,
i. 104.
- Fitz Thedmar, Arnald, his
chronicle in Richard I.'s reign,
i. 122.
- Fitz Thomas, Thomas, defender
of city rights, i. 140-151.
- Fleet, the course of the, i. 9-13;
first called Hole-bourne, 10;
covered over, 418.
- Flegge, Henry de, death of, i. 96.
- Franciscans, house in Cornhill
of the, i. 236. *See* Grey Friars.
- Frowyk, fictitious story of
Simon, i. 166.
- Frowyks, history of the family
of, ii. 12.
- Fickett's field, where jousts were
held, ii. 76; site of the new
law courts, 77, 205.
- Fulham, bishop's palace at, ii. 16.
- Furnivall's Inn, ii. 75.
- Geological features of London,
i. 18-24.
- George III., behaviour towards
the city, i. 423; quarrels with
it, 426; Gordon riots, 432;
refuses petitions, 433; his uni-
form contempt towards the
corporation, 434.
- George IV., early popularity,
i. 434; his coronation, 440.
- Gibbon, Edward, house of, ii. 227.
- Glasgow, population compared
with London, i. 1.
- Gloucester, the little duke of, ii.
243; his life, 250.

Godfrey, Michael, helped to begin the Bank, i. 409; pamphlet by him, 410; killed at Namur, 411.

Gosfrith the Portreeve, i. 78.

Gospel Oak, i. 10.

Grey Friars, tombs in the church of the, i. 235, 312; its suppression, 307; its church reopened, 311.

Guildhall, museum of Roman antiquities at, i. 47; rebuilt, 259; trial of lady Jane Grey at, 316.

Guilds, beginning of, in the reign of Athelstan, i. 68; dissolution of the knighten-guild by Henry I., 98; weavers first mentioned, 99; mercers, 115; saddlers, 118, 173; "craft" guilds, 128; new trade guilds under Henry III., 143; seven brothers of the knighten-guild, 163; account of guilds, 165: "frith" guild, *ib.*; "town" guild, *ib.*; mercantile, 166; "communal," 167; "adulterine," *ib.*; goldsmiths, *ib.*; fray between goldsmiths, tailors, cloth-merchants and tanners, 168; wealth of the weavers, *ib.*; division of weavers into drapers and tailors, &c., 169; "merchant taylors" under Henry VII., 170; "mastery" or trade guild, 171; localisation of the trades, *ib.*; German merchants in the Steelyard, 172; livery companies, 197; fishmongers, 198; incorporation of the great companies, 220; their halls, 221; their regulations, 223.

H.

Hackney, ii. 159; death of the earl of Northumberland there, 160; fine old houses, 161; account of the beautiful Susanna Perwich at, 161.

Handel, G. F., ii. 23; his organ in Little Stanmore church, 25; anecdote of, 226.

Hampstead, height of hill, i. 3.

Hampton Court, palace at, ii. 16; Honour of Hampton, 18; part of palace built by Wren, 19.

Harleian MSS., history of, ii. 226.

Hatton, Sir Christopher, ii. 186. Hawksmoor, pupil of Wren, churches by, ii. 151.

Henry I., his grants and remissions, i. 89; grants Middlesex to the city to farm, *ib.*

Henry III., anecdote of party power, i. 131; his rapacity, 132; his plotting against the citizens, 136; the roll with the green seal, 137-141; his contest with the mayor Fitz Thomas, 144-151; his death, 154; buildings at Westminster, ii. 52.

Henry VI., his visit to St. Paul's in his childhood, i. 268; state of London in his time, 271; his death, 282.

Henry VIII., his popularity in the city, i. 297.

Hervy, Walter, pupil and successor to FitzThomas, i. 153, 174; his arrest under his successor, 176; his "wordy strife" with the mayor, 178; last notice of him, 180.

Hicks Hall, where the regicides were tried, ii. 178.
 Highgate, height of hill, i. 3.
 Holborn, ii. 183; Wren's restoration of the church, *ib.*; viaduct, *ib.*; Ely Place, 184; contest for precedence at a feast, 185; mention by Shakespeare, 186; Sir Christopher Hatton and queen Elizabeth, 187; account of bishop Wren, 187-192; garden of Ely Place built over, 193; house in Dover Street bought for the see of Ely instead, 194; present state of former chapel of Ely palace, 195; history of the manor, 196.
 Holland House, celebrities at, ii. 247; Lady Sarah Lennox, *ib.*; Addison's death, 248; the house enlarged, 249.
 Hospitals, i. 232; their suppression with the monasteries, 306; their restoration, 307.
 Houses, condition of, in the time of Erasmus, i. 354.
 Hyde Park, origin of name, ii. 101; account of houses at Hyde Park Corner, 104.

I.

"Infangthief," anecdote illustrating right of, i. 96.
 Islington, history of, ii. 178; local names, 180; elopement of Sir John Spencer's daughter, *ib.*

J.

James I., religious differences in the reign of, i. 337.
 James II., accession, i. 400; his vengeance on Cornish, *ib.*; his flight, 403.

Jeffreys, judge, i. 399.
 Jews, treatment of, i. 196.
 Jones, Inigo, his designs, i. 363; anecdote of, ii. 84.
 John, his charters, i. 128; annulling of Magna Charta by pope Innocent III., 130.

K.

Kensal Green, cemetery at, illustrious graves, ii. 241.
 Kensington, gardens, ii. 123; palace formerly Nottingham House, 124; Albert Memorial, 125; birthplace of queen Victoria, 126; parish, 244; origin of name, 245; manor house, 246; eminent inhabitants, 254; old square, 255; the Gore, 256; Cromwell Road, origin of name, *ib.*; old church of St. Mary Abbot's, 258; new church, 259.

Kennington or Chenintun, ii. 267; history of, 277; strange scene at the manor-house, 278; mummers, 279; survey made, 280; pulled down, *ib.*; the Oval, *ib.*

L.

Lambeth, ii. 268; given to Rochester, 269; the bishops, 270; archbishops, *ib.*; public ceremonials at, 271; first called a palace, 272; library, 273; part of first printed Bible, 274; chapel, *ib.*; chapel windows, 275; history of Lambeth, *ib.*, 276.

Laindon hills, in Saxon times, i. 66.

Langbourne, originally called Langford, i. 32.

- "Lawworthy" citizens, i. 79.
 Levels from Shepherd's Bush to Mile End, list of, i. 23; from Regent's Park to Crystal Palace, 24; Panyer Alley stone, 15.
 Lewes, battle of, i. 146.
 "Liber Albus," compiled by John Carpenter, executor of Whittington, i. 267.
 Lincoln's Inn, ii. 74; fields, ii. 205; square partly built by Inigo Jones, *ib.*; executions of eminent persons, *ib.*
 Lissom or Lylleston Green, ii. 228.
 "Lithsmen," from "lithan," i. 73.
 Liverpool, population compared with London, i. 1.
 London, population in 1881, i. 1; growth of suburbs, 2; size of, 3; original site of, *ib.*; lagoon in ancient times, *ib.*; low-lying districts, 5; central hill of modern, 8, 18.
 — first divided into estates or holdings, and later into wards, i. 157; its sokes or liberties, 161; first members of parliament for, 182; disorderly state under Edward II., 200, 203; riots, 204, 207; charter of Edward III., 208; list of munitions of war, 216; overcrowding in, 333; fortifications made by the citizens during the Civil War, 344-345; final removal of defences under George II., 419.
 — election of English kings by, i. 75, 99, 281, 290, 403.
 — picture of, in the latter part of the twelfth century, i. 103;
 government, 106; gates, 107-109; markets, 110; open spaces, 111; houses, *ib.*; churches and monasteries, 112; struggle for liberty, 121.
 — appearance in the thirteenth century, i. 104.
 — appearance of, in the fourteenth century, i. 227.
 — its appearance in the fifteenth century according to Stow, i. 256.
 — its appearance in the sixteenth century according to the Grey Friars' Chronicler, i. 311; misdemeanours and their punishment, 313.
 — state of, according to Izaak Walton, in the seventeenth century, i. 335.
 — early in the nineteenth century, ii. 6, 7.
 — always on the winning side in contests with kings, i. 346.
 — when named Augusta, i. 49.
 — after the Conquest, i. 76.
 — constitution of, i. 446.
 — date of first historical notice of, i. 24.
 — "in demesne," i. 102.
 — derivation of name from the Celtic, i. 17.
 — mention of a great fog in the third century at, i. 36.
 — gates of, i. 42.
 — gifts of the city to the suburbs, i. 442.
 — first great fire of, in the twelfth century, i. 101.
 — number of houses and churches destroyed in the Great Fire, i. 359.
 — curious account of houses built without leave, ii. 93.

- London under James II., i. 402,
403.
 — liberties of, not founded on
charters, i. 444.
 — under kings of Mercia,
i. 63.
 — parishes, peculiar features
of their subdivision, i. 157.
 — population in the city
itself, i. 441.
 — compared in population to
other cities, i. 1.
 — not populous during Roman
occupation till late on, i. 55.
 — prisons in, i. 436.
 — Roman, i, 25, 35, 48.
 — Roman buildings in, i. 30,
33.
 — Roman suburbs of, i. 33.
 — Saxon, i. 50.
 — site of, i. 1.
 — compulsory lighting of the
streets, i. 268.
 — departure of Suetonius
from, i. 29.
 — Bridge, building in Roman
times of, i. 28; its present
maintenance, 321; old, 420;
built by Peter of Colechurch,
ib.; appearance in fifteenth
century, 421; rebuilt by Ren-
nie, 422; traffic over, *ib.*
 — Wall, i. 32; building of, 40;
fosse round, 333.
 — note on wards and parishes,
Appendix F.
 “London Fen,” the, ii. 68.
 Londonderry, grant by James I.
of, i. 406.
 Ludgate pulled down, i. 419;
probable origin of the name,
ii. 69.
 Lylleston, ii. 228.

- M.
- Manors, prebendal, ii. 167-9.
 Marlborough House, ii. 117.
 Mary I. received in state by the
mayor, i. 314; mass per-
formed, 315; persecutions of
the Protestants, 318.
 Mayor, first on record, i. 90,
122; Serlo le Mercer, in the
year of Magna Charta, 129; in
reign of Henry III., 131-133;
 Thomas Fitz-Thomas, 141;
 Walter Hervey, 153; rank of
the mayor, 161; Henry le
Waleys or Galeys, loss of
guild - charters under his
mayoralty, 175, 177; benefac-
tions, 184; Gregory Rokesley,
ib.; his behaviour to the judges
at assizes held in the Tower,
186; suspension of the mayoralty,
188; its restoration, 195; title
of “lord” mayor first
used, 208; trial of Chigwell,
214; Walter Turk, his Latin
epitaph, 217; curious petition
of Richard de Bettoyne, *ib.*; list
of occupations of city wor-
thies, 218; silver maces first
used, 224; the worthless Sir
Nicholas Brember, 247-249;
the celebrated Sir Richard
Whittington, 252; anecdote
of James I.’s anger and the
lord mayor, 334; impris-
onment of royalist mayor by his
own sheriffs, 344; another
sent to the Tower, 348; pro-
clamation by the mayor and
aldermen of the abolition of
royalty, 349; mayor and alder-
men bullied by Charles II.,
398; Beckford, courage of,

towards George III., 426; Brass Crosby sent to the Tower, 429; John Wilkes, the "friend of liberty," 430; Matthew Wood, twice mayor, befriended queen Caroline, 441; how lord mayors are elected, 446; mayors and sheriffs of London, calendar of, *see Appendix A.*

Members of Parliament for London, *see App. B*; Middlesex, *see App. I*; Southwark, *see App. H*; Westminster, *see App. G*. Merchants, prosperity of, in Danish times in London, i. 67. Mercia, kings of, state of London under, i. 63.

Metropolis, London not a, i. 76. "Metropolitan Area," the, ii. 266, 292; use of the word "metropolis," *ib.*; the three metropolitan areas, 293; police district, *ib.*; postal districts explained, 294; parliamentary boroughs, *ib.*; streets, 295; nationalities of the population, *ib.*; ratable value, *ib.*; statistics of drainage, *ib.*; Embankment, *ib.*; Fire Brigade, *ib.*; statistics of food, 296; supply of coal and water, *ib.*; Metropolitan Board, working of the, 297; underground railway, 298; how the city and the suburbs originated, *ib.*; cause of the present condition of, 299.

Middlesex, its ancient divisions, ii. 2; pannage, 3; no old castle or manor house, 4; oldest landowners, *ib.*

Millbank, former house on site, ii. 105.

Milton, John, i. 338-340. Minories, the, original site of the house of the Minoresses, i. 237.

Mimms, South, history of, ii. 10. Monasteries, date of their suppression under Henry VIII., i. 303; list of the names of those suppressed in London, 305-306.

Montfichett's Castle, i. 234. Moorgate, uncertain date of its erection, i. 65. Myddelton, Sir Hugh, canal by, i. 357.

N.

National debt, a, invented by Henry VII., i. 294.

National Gallery, account of, ii. 88; its contents, 89-92.

Newgate prison, condition of, i. 437; destroyed by the rioters, 439; present building, 440.

Newington Butts, ii. 285.

New Law Courts, ii. 78.

New York, population compared with London, i. 1.

Neyt, boundaries of the manor of, ii. 38, 123; present state, 124.

Norden, map of Shakespeare's London by, i. 285.

Northampton, result of Yorkist victory at, i. 280.

Northumberland, earl of, anecdote, ii. 160.

O.

Ossulston, or Oswulf's Town, ii. 5.

Osterley, house at, ii. 22; anecdote of Elizabeth's visit, 23.

P.

- Paddington, ii. 236; history of, 238; church, *ib.*; view from the Serpentine bridge, 239; eminent inhabitants, *ib.*
- Palaces, royal, ii. 108; Whitehall, *ib.*; St. James's, 114; Buckingham, 119; Kensington, 124; Lambeth, 272.
- Panyer Alley stone, i. 15.
- Paris, population compared with London, i. 1.
- Parishes in London, list of, App. C.
- Parliament, present houses of, ii. 54.
- Parks, the, ii. 108; Hyde, 101; St. James's, 117; Green, 120; entrance to Hyde Park, 121; gate formerly on the site of the Marble Arch, *ib.*; size of Hyde Park, 123; "Marybone Park," built over, 127; Regent's, 129; St. Dunstan's Villa in, *ib.*; Zoological Gardens in, 130; St. Katherine's hospital removed to, 131; Victoria and other parks, 134; original sites of the parks, 166; Battersea, 282.
- Paterson, William, founder of the Bank of England, i. 407.
- "Paul's Walk," i. 247.
- Peter of Colechurch, curate and architect, i. 420.
- Plague, the, i. 332; in reign of James I., *ib.*; of Charles I., 340; several occurrences, 352; the black death, 353; the sweating sickness, *ib.*; the great plague in 1665, 355; cause of its cessation, 357.
- Pont-de-l'arche, knight of the

twelfth century, whose property forms part of the Bridge House Estate, i. 321.

Portreeve, *see* Sheriffs.

Portsoken, history of the ward of, i. 162.

Potter, Gilbert, his ill-treatment, i. 313.

Powell, William, the "Harmonious Blacksmith," ii. 23.

Powis Place, ii. 198.

Priests, the behaviour of, in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., i. 300.

Primrose Hill, view from, ii. 134.

Prison reform, i. 435, 439.

"Prudhommes," the, or "barons" of the city, i. 128.

Q.

Queen Square, ii. 197; Queen Anne houses, 197; *Blue Boar* inn, *ib.*; *Red Lion* inn, *ib.*; hospitals, 198; Powis Place, *ib.*

"*Quia Emptores*," influence of this statute on civic institutions, i. 183, 189.

R.

Reformation in England, the, first sermon showing the coming of, i. 299.

Richard I., goes to Palestine, 123; tumults in his absence, 124; riot of FitzOsbert after his return, 125; charters of, 127.

Richard II., his lack of faith with the city, i. 247; his extortions, 250; "Lollardry" appears, 251; the king's marriage, 252; his death, 253.

Richard III. elected by London, i. 289, 290.

Roads, convergence of ancient, to a ford over the Thames, i. 26, 28.

Rolls Court, the, origin of, i. 197; its chapel, 230.

Rotherhithe, ii. 290.

Rugmere, prebendal manor of, now Bloomsbury, ii. 201; probable site of the "mere," 202; mere drained in King John's reign, *ib.*

Runnymead, London interests at, i. 129.

Rye House plot, i. 399.

:S.

St. Albans, battle of, result of, i. 278.

St. Anne's, Soho, ii. 98.

St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, church of, i. 115; prior Radhere, *ib.*; fair in the "smooth field," 116; renewing of the hospital, 308; present state of church, 312.

St. Botolph of East Anglia, churches dedicated to, i. 61.

St. Giles's hospital, ii. 204; manor, *ib.*; streets in the parish of, 206; place where the Great Plague began, *ib.*

St. George's-in-the-East, ii. 151.

— Hanover Square, ii. 101; description of, 106; subdivision of its parish, *ib.*; burial ground, 240; Mrs. Malony, *ib.*

St. James's palace, ii. 114; royal residents, 115; became the seat of the court, 116; German chapel, 117; park, *ib.*

St. James's square, history of, ii. 94; church by Wren, 95; street of clubs, 96.

St. John, Knights of, ii. 175; crusade preached in their church, 176; their wealth, *ib.*; present gate built by Thomas Docwra, prior, *ib.*; revenues, 177; crypt, *ib.*; St. John's Square, *ib.*; eminent residents near, 177; St. John's Gate, 178.

St. Katharine's Hospital, ii. 131; history of, *ib.*

St. Margaret's, Westminster, ii. 43-50.

St. Martin's-le-Grand, old monastery, i. 117.

St. Martin's, history of, ii. 85; church described, 87.

St. Martin Outwich, history of an old city church, i. 369-370.

St. Mary-le-Strand, ii. 81.

St. Marylebone, parish church, ii. 231; indefatigable clergyman, *ib.*; Hogarth's print, 232; new church, *ib.*; list of other churches, *ib.*, 233; eminent inhabitants, 234.

St. Osyth, her life, i. 62.

St. Pancras, ii. 213; manor, *ib.*; church, *ib.*; traditions respecting old St. Pancras church, 214; incongruities of new St. Pancras church, 215.

St. Peter's, ancient name of Westminster, ii. 32.

St. Paul's, no Roman temple on site, i. 44; aspect of, in twelfth century, 117; building of first cathedral, 239; number of priests, 242; bells lost at dice by Henry VIII., 310; burnt in the Great Fire, 360; de-

- scription of old St. Paul's, 367, 385; fitness of the present building for service, 386; Wren's earlier designs, 387; construction of the dome, 388; dimensions of St. Paul's, *ib.*; first stone laid, 389; first service held there, *ib.*; Wren's epitaph in the crypt, 390; list of manors belonging to the church, ii. 8, and App. E.; alienation of their estates by the canons, 167.
- St. Saviour's, in Southwark, i. 321-323.
- St. Stephen's, Wallbrook, rebuilt by Wren, i. 382-384.
- St. Thomas's hospital, re-founding of, i. 307-308.
- Sandwich, Sir Ralph de, warden in place of mayor, i. 188.
- Savoy, the, ii. 79; history of, 80.
- Sawtree, William, first heretic burnt, i. 261.
- Saxon London, i. 50.
— names of streets, i. 54.
- Saxons, various tribes of, i. 52.
— villages named by the Middle, ii. 1.
- Schot, Adam, death of, i. 92.
- Scotte, John, an actor, anecdote of his ill-treatment, i. 301.
- Scotland Yard, ii. 111.
- Sebbi, king of Essex, his signature to earliest Middlesex document granting land, i. 59.
- Serpentine, source of the, ii. 236.
- Seven Dials, evidence of former fashion in, ii. 99.
- Shakespeare, London in the time of, i. 283; his property, 285;
- Bridewell, appearance of scene in 'Henry VIII.', 309; his house in Southwark, 323; the Globe theatre, *ib.*; places connected with him in Southwark, *ib.*; loses his friends, Essex and Pembroke, 330; his last plays, 331.
- Sheriffs, or portreeves, origin of, i. 90-92; probable suppression of portreeves, 99; anecdote about a sheriff's clerk, 193.
- Sheriffwicks, rent of, i. 208-209.
- "Small beam," keeper of the, i. 192, 199.
- Smithfield, burning of Protestants at, i. 300, 318.
- Soho, ii. 97; square, 98; historical associations with, 99, 100.
- Somerset House, ii. 81, 119.
- Somers Town, ii. 213.
- South Kensington Museum, ii. 255.
- South London districts, origin of names in, i. 4.
- South Sea Bubble, i. 415.
— Fund, origin of, i. 407.
- Southwark, charter relating to, i. 209; it becomes a ward, 319-321.
- Stanwell House, history of, ii. 13.
- Staples Inn, ii. 75.
- Stapleton, Walter, bishop of Exeter, killed by the mob, i. 204, 206.
- Stephen, election at St. Paul's Cross of, i. 100.
- Stepney, history of the manor of, ii. 148; divided by degrees into seven parishes, 149; old epitaphs in Stepney church, 150; old gothic church at Stratford, *ib.*; Domesday Book,

mention of Stepney in, 152; bishop's house, 153; Bethnal Green, *ib.*; Columbia Market, *ib.*; museum, 154; the Colet family, 155; Wapping, 156; the docks, 157; present lord of the manor of Stepney, 158.

Stoke Newington, ii. 181; manor where Thomas Sutton lived, 182; curious monuments in St. Mary's church, *ib.*; Isaac Watts at Abney Park, *ib.*

Stow, his monument, i. 255; his appearance, 284.

Strand, significance of local names in the, ii. 81.

Streets, origin of names of, i. 110.

"Suther Rige," the, ii. 268.

"Sweating sickness," the, i. 294, 353.

Syon Abbey, its foundation, ii. 20; suppression, 21; vicissitudes afterwards, *ib.*

T.

Temple, the, i. 228; scene in the gardens, 278; alterations in, 336; church, 337.

Temple Bar, in the fourteenth century, i. 231.

Templars, the, i. 228.

Thames, former bed, i. 4.

Thorney, ancient name for Westminster, ii. 33; island, 34; abbey on the island, *ib.*

Tottenham manor, ii. 216.

Trade, increase of trade in sixteenth century, i. 327.

Tower, the, built by William the Conqueror to overawe London, i. 81; Wren's restorations, 82;

VOL. II.

records kept there, 83; situation of, ii. 136; city boundaries in, *ib.*; gradual growth of the buildings forming it, 137; Henry III.'s fortifications, 138; history of Traitors' Gate, 139; robbers' skins nailed on doors, 140; additions by Edward III., *ib.*; restorations by Wren, 141; modern restorations, 142; position of the Tower chaplain, 143; Stow's notice of St. Peter's church within the Tower walls, *ib.*; keepers of the records, 145; history of the menagerie, 146; its removal to Regent's Park, 148; filling in of the moat, *ib.* Tudor, Owen, imprisoned in Newgate, i. 269.

Tyburn, course of the, i. 7; traces of its course across Oxford street, ii. 217; old form of name, 219; gallows, *ib.*; conduits at, 220; district of, 221; cisterns discovered, 222; history of estate, *ib.*; under queen Elizabeth, 223; duke of Newcastle's wealth, 224; recent alterations, 225; great families owning the estate, 226; names of fields, 229; Portman family, *ib.*; Tyburnia, 235; account of Tyburn gate, *ib.*

U.

Ulster estate, belonging to London city, i. 405.

V.

Vauxhall Gardens, ii. 280.

Vyel, Margery, case of, i. 133-136.

2 E

W.

- Waithman, Robert, sheriff and alderman, obelisk to, i. 441.
- Wall, building of London, date of, i. 40; gates of London, i. 42; removed, 419
- Wall-brook, origin of the name, i. 13; its course, 16; its bridge, 191.
- Walls, the fosse round the, i. 333.
- Wapping, origin of name, ii. 156.
- Wards, how formed, i. 157, 161; sometimes called "sokes," 182, *ib.*; no longer owned by their aldermen, 164; the wards and the companies, 182; "wards without," how formed, ii. 72.
- Weever, antiquary, ii. 175.
- Westbourne, the, i. 6; manor, ii. 237, 241; Mrs. Siddons at the Farm, 242; Pest Field, *ib.*
- West Cheap in the Saxon time, i. 61.
- West End, the, i. 6.
- Westminster, the city of, ii. 32; its three names, *ib.*; estates given to the abbot, i. 136, ii. 38; Poets' corner, 41; Edward the Confessor's work, *ib.*; the "Jesus altar," 42; woollen-market house, 47; domestic buildings, alterations of, 50; Little Dean's Yard buildings, 51; chapel of St. Stephen, *ib.*; Westminster Hall built by Richard II., 52; palace built by Henry III., *ib.*; law courts, 53; houses of parliament, 54; present hall, 55; history of the palace, 57; tombs of kings in abbey, 58; Edward I., 59; Richard II., *ib.*; chantry of Henry V., *ib.*; monuments 60; triforium, 62; waxworks in Islip chapel chantry, *ib.*; history of the suppression of the old monastery, 63; Westminster school, 64; Ashburnham House, 65; first called "city," 66; present government of Westminster, 67; hamlets of Westminster, full account of, 68; Roman remains, 70.
- Whitefield's chapel, celebrities buried there, ii. 217.
- Whitehall, or York Place, ii. 108; its chapel, *ib.*; Henry VIII.'s proclamation, 109; first called the New Palace, 111; banqueting hall by Inigo Jones, *ib.*; spot where Charles I. was executed, 113; demolition of Holbein's gateway, 114.
- Whittington, notice of his conduct in guild affairs, i. 223; builds library of Franciscans, 236; appointed mayor by king Richard II., 252; his boyhood, 257; second election as mayor, 260; his wealth, 265; founded the first city library, 266.
- Wilkes, John, i. 423; life of, 424; 'North Briton,' No. 45, *ib.*; arrest of, 425; popularity of, *ib.*; alderman, 426; mayor, 430; his opinion on the American War of Independence, *ib.*; chamberlain, 432; epitaph, 433.
- William the Conqueror, elected by the Londoners, i. 75; early charter of, 77; his small

- personal interest in London, 85 ; his tenants, 85-87.
 William II., his charter, i. 88.
 William of Orange, landing of, i. 403 ; election of William and Mary, 404 ; restoration of city rights, 405.
 Wool-staplers fair, ii. 48.
 Wren, Sir Christopher, i. 362 ; method of work, 364 ; parentage, 365 ; plan for the rebuilding of London, 371 ; account of his way of building churches, 373 ; beauty of his towers, 374 ; number of his steeples, 376 ; last work, 379 ; small cost of his works, 380 ; St. Stephen's, 383 ; St. Paul's, 385-390 ; comparison with other churches, 385 ; its fitness for service, 386 ; his earlier designs for St. Paul's, 387 ; the construction of the dome, 388 ; dimensions of St. Paul's, *ib.* ; Wren's genius considered, 389 ; his epitaph, 390 ; St. James's, ii. 95 ; his churches and public buildings, App. D.
 Wren, Dr. Matthew, bishop of Ely, uncle of Sir Christopher Wren, ii. 187 ; his action against Lady Elizabeth Hatton, 189 ; his imprisonment in the Tower, 190 ; anecdote of, 191 ; release, 192 ; employs his nephew to build a chapel, 193.
 Wyatt, rebellion of, i. 316-318.
- Y.
- "Ya, ya," ancient cries of, i. 138.
 York House, ii. 87.
- Z.
- Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park, ii. 130.

THE END.

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